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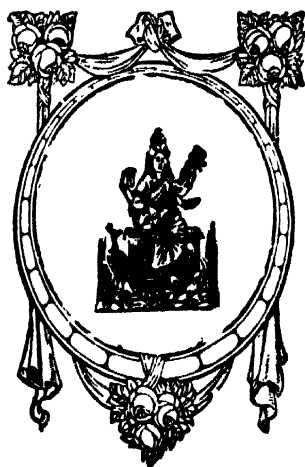
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# THE MEANING OF "ŚRUTI" IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE OF KASHMIR.

BY

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The Kashmir school of Śaiva philosophy is a non-vedic system. It is technically called Trika, among other reasons, for following the authority of the three Śaivāgamas (I) Siddhā (II) Nāmaka and (III) Mālinī.

अत एवाह तत्सारं त्रिकशास्त्रम्,  
तच्च सिद्धानामकमालिन्याख्यखण्डत्रयात्मकत्वात् त्रिविधम्  
.....एवं च न "तदस्तीह यन्न" इत्यादि युक्तमेवोक्तम्

T. A. Vol. I, p. 49.

It gives the Veda the lowest position.

वेदाच्छैवं ततो वामं ततो दक्षं ततः कुलम् ।  
ततो मतं ततश्चापि त्रिकं सर्वोत्तमं मतम् ॥

T. A. Vol. I, p. 49.

When asked to state the authority of Śruti in support of some of its philosophical doctrines, it definitely says that it follows the authority not of the Śruti but that of the Āgamas. The final reply that it gives to the question of the vedic authority for its doctrines is that such a vedic authority is not to be found in the existing vedic literature but has got to be assumed exactly as the followers of the Veda have got to do in the case of the Aṣṭakā of which Manu speaks:—

तेन यथा मन्वादिस्मृतौ उत्सन्नशाखामूलत्वादष्टकादियागानां मूलभूता  
श्रुतिः कल्प्यते तथा इहापि ज्ञेयम् ।

T. A. 16-7 I.

Bhāskara, in his commentary on the Īśvara Pratyabhijñā Vimarśinī of Abhinava, which has been edited by us for the first time and the first volume of which has recently been published by the Government of the United Provinces, definitely says that



it is an act of folly to look for the authority of Śruti for the doctrines of the Trika School of Philosophy as given in the Āgamas.

तत्रापि श्रुतिप्रमाणमार्गणं मूढता कार्यमेव

Bhāskarī, Vol. I, p. 15.

One of the chief distinctive features, which is the unmistakable sign of its being non-vedic, is the fact that it is meant for all the castes and both the sexes; the fourth caste (the Sūdra) and women are not debarred from it.

“जनस्य” इति, यः कश्चिज्जायमानस्तस्य, इत्यनेनाधिकारिविषयो नात्र कश्चिन्नियम इति दर्शयति । अधिकारिनियमनिषेधश्चात्र वर्णविभागमपेक्ष्य कृतः । यथा वेदान्तेषूपनीतस्य त्रैवर्णिकस्यैवाधिकारस्तथा नेहेति ।

Bhāskarī, Vol. I, p. 30.

The word “Śruti” in this literature is very often used in the sense in which the writers on the orthodox vedic schools use it. But frequently it is used in the wider sense also for the works looked upon as authoritative by the writers of this system.

In Bhagavadgītārtha Saṅgraha itself Abhinavagupta himself refers to Vijñāna Bhairava as Śivopaniṣad. For instance, in the commentary on verses 10 and 11 Ch. VII, he says:—

उक्तं च शिवोपनिषदि

and quotes from the Vijñāna Bhairava.

इच्छायामथवा ज्ञाने जाते चित्तं निवेशयेत् ।

This is found in the Vijñāna Bhairava, page 85 Kashmir Edition.

Again in his commentary on verses 27 and 28 of the fourth chapter he says:—

तदुक्तं शिवोपनिषदि

and quotes from the Vijñāna Bhairava the following verse:—

भावे त्यक्ते निरुद्धा चिन्नैव भावान्तरं व्रजेत् ।

तदा तन्मयभावेन विकसत्यतिभावना ॥

This is also found in the Kashmir edition of the work as verse 62 on page 51.

In his biggest philosophical work, his commentary on the Tīkā of Utpalācārya, which is also called Vivṛti, on his own

Īśvarapratyabhijñā Kārikā, called Īśvarapratyabhijñā Vivṛti Vimarśinī, he refers to Śaivāgama as Upaniṣad. For instance, in his commentary on verse 14, Āhnika 7, Adhikāra I, he says:—

यदुक्तं शिवविज्ञानोपनिषदि

and quotes the following verse:—

प्राह्यप्राहकसंवित्तिः सामान्या सर्वदेहिनाम् ।

योगिनां तु विशेषोऽयं संबन्धे सावधानता ॥

V. Bh., p. 29.

This work of Abhinava has not yet been published. I am quoting from the transcript of the Ms. of the work in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, which I got prepared in 1934.

The fact is that the whole of the Āgamic literature on which the Trika School of Philosophy is based was looked upon as Upaniṣad. On this point we have the authority of Jayaratha who has commented upon the Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta. In his introduction to the 9th verse, 1st Āhnika, he says:—

निखिलशास्त्रोपनिषद्भूतस्य षडर्धक्रमविज्ञातस्य त्रैयम्बकसन्तानद्वारेणाव-  
तारकत्वादायं कैलासस्थं श्रीश्रीकण्ठनाथारूपम् ।

T. A. Vol. II, p. 28.

The word "*Upaniṣad*" being used for the Śaiva works of respectable authority, the word "*Śruti*" also is naturally used in reference to them. For, in the works of the orthodox vedic schools of philosophy it is used for Upaniṣad. Śaṅkarācārya, for instance, in quoting the Vedic Upaniṣads refers to them as Śruti.

His commentary on verse 5 and 6 of the 8th chapter of the Bhagavadgītā is not the solitary instance of his reference to the non-vedic work as Śruti. In his Īśvarapratyabhijñā Vivṛti Vimarśinī he refers to the Bhagavadgītā also as Śruti and quotes from it. The passage runs as follows:—

ततः प्राप्तेऽपि गमनादिसाध्ये वस्तुनि लब्ध्वापि सुखप्राप्त्यादौ नो  
विरमत्येव सा तत एव कामसमय एवायं पुरुषो दाता च प्रतिग्रहीता च श्रुत्या  
निरूपितः ; आह च "अद्वयमयोऽयं पुरुषः" ।

This occurs in the commentary on verse 4, Āhnika 7, Adhikāra, I. The part of the verse quoted in the above passage

is a part of the 3rd verse in the 17th chapter of the Bhagavad-gītā.

Jayaratha also in his commentary on the 22nd verse of the 11th Āhnika of the Tantrāloka quotes a line from the Svacchanda Tantra as from a Śruti.

तथात्वे हि—“षट्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वमुखासि” इत्यादिश्रुतिविरोधः स्यात् ।

T. A. (comm.) Vol. VII, p. 14, (Second part).

This is found in The Svacchanda Tantra, Vol. III, p. 2, Kashmir Edition.

It may be noted here that there is just a slight difference between the reading as quoted by Jayaratha and that as found in the published text of the Svacchanda Tantra. While the former has मुखानि, the latter has मुख्यानि. The latter seems to be more correct because in the former case a slight metrical defect is involved.

Let us now see if the passage in the Bhagavadgītārtha Saṅgraha admits of an interpretation different from that which led me to state the following in my “Abhinavagupta: An Historical and Philosophical Study” Vol. I, p. 58.

“Abhinavagupta quotes from it (Ādhāra Kārikā) as from a Śruti the following verse “Tirthe śvapaca” etc.

Let us, therefore, find out

(I) what is the point in support of which the quotation is given;

(II) whether there is justification to suppose that “Pramāṇa-bhūta-Śruti-virodhāt” refers to vedic passages like “ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति”;

(III) whether the vedic passage, supposed to be in the mind of Abhinavagupta, fits in the context;

(IV) whether the language of the commentary admits of the interpretation that “with अस्ति हि “तीर्थ” etc. we have the next sentence giving additional authority.”

All these points arise in connection with the commentary of Abhinavagupta on the following verses in the 8th chapter of the Bhagavadgītā:—

“अन्तकाले च मामेव ”

“यं यं वापि स्मरन् भावम् ”

The question that is discussed here is whether the future life or emancipation of a man depends upon what he remembers at the time of death; whether remembrance, at the time of death, of what a man's mind has been always occupied with during the lifetime, necessarily determines his future existence. The reply of Śaṅkarācārya to this question is different from that of Abhinavagupta.

(I) According to Śaṅkara, it is unnecessary for final emancipation but necessary for the attainment of different higher worlds.

तत्र यानि तावत्सम्यग्दर्शनार्थान्युपासनानि तान्यवघातादिवत् कार्यपर्यवसानानीति ज्ञातमेवैषमावृत्तिपरिणामम् । ..... यानि पुनरभ्युदयफलानि तेष्वेषा चिन्ता किं किञ्चित्कालं प्रत्ययमावर्त्या विरमेदुत यावज्जीवमावर्तयेत्, आप्रायणदेवावर्तयेत्, प्रत्ययम्, अन्यप्रत्ययवशाददृष्टफलप्राप्तेः ।

(Śaṅkara Bhāṣya, p. 844. Nirṇaya Sagar Edition 1904.) The fact, as stated by himself in his commentary on the verses of the Bhagavadgītā, quoted above, and explained by another commentator, Ānandagiri, is that the remembrance of the Ultimate in the case of the one who has realised Brahman automatically takes place in spite of the physical disorder at the time of death, because of his having risen above the body and, therefore, not being affected by any disorder in it. The case with the one who has been concentrating on some divine being is different. He needs conscious effort at remembrance. And if he fails in it he will be only what his mind is occupied with at the time of death. Thus while the one who has realised the Brahman has left nothing to do to get merged in the Ultimate after death, the merging is an automatic process after self-realisation; the attainment of the higher worlds requires conscious effort at remembrance, without which, and even in the case of failure in which, the attainment of the desired will not take place.

Abhinavagupta's position is slightly different. He has interpreted अन्तकाल as अन्त्यक्षण, as the following lines in his commentary make abundantly clear:—

“ननु पुत्रकलत्रबन्धुभृत्यैः शिशिरोदकपानादेर्वा अन्त्ये क्षणे दृष्टं स्मरणम् इति तद्भावापत्तिः स्यात् ? मैवम् । न हि सोऽन्त्यो क्षणः स्फुटदेहावस्थानात्, न ह्यसावन्त्यः क्षणोऽस्माद्विवक्षितो भवादृशैर्लक्ष्यते ।”

What the implication of this “अन्त्यक्षण” is, has been made clear by him in his Tantrāloka, as quoted by Vāmadevācārya in his Janmamaraṇa Vicāra as follows:—

तामेव यियासुतामधिकृत्य प्रवरमुनिः पाराशर्यः समाधितवान्

“यं यं वापि स्मरन् भावम्”

इति । अयमत्र संक्षेपार्थः । संभवभोगः

जन्मभोगः स्थितिभोगश्च इति तिस्रः शरीरस्य प्रागवस्था भवन्ति, मृतिभोगः यियासुता च द्वे चरमावस्थे तत्र मृतिभोगः विचित्राशरीरपीडा, यियासुता आतिवाहिकशरीरसंबद्धा तामेव च यियासुतामुद्दिश्य “यं यं वापि स्मरन् भावम्” इत्यादि प्रवृत्तम्

एतदेव वितत्य तन्त्रालोके प्रतिपादितम्

.....

यस्त्वसौ क्षण एवैकश्चरमः प्राणानात्मकः ।

सा देहत्यागकालांशकला प्राणवियोगिनी ॥

तस्यां यदेवं स्मरति प्राक् संस्कारप्रबोधितः ।

तदेव रूपमभ्येति सुखदुःखविमोहितम् ॥

K.S.S. Edition, pp. 17-8.

His position is that remembrance as a conscious act of will is not a factor which determines the future existence of a being, whether he has been concentrating on the Ultimate or some inferior god, or something else. The future existence is determined by the past predominant mental state which automatically recurs in the last moment “अन्त्यक्षण”. There is no causal relation of remembrance with the future existence in any case. It is something which simply happens as a matter of course. This is what Abhinava has said in the course of his commentary:—

ननु एवमन्तकाले किं प्रयोजनं तत्स्मरणेन ? क एवमाह प्रयोजनमिति, किन्तु वस्तुवृत्तोपनतमेव तद्भवति तस्मिन्नन्त्ये क्षणे ।

Now it is to emphasise the inefficacy of the mental contents, whatever their nature, in determining the future existence that Abhinava quotes from the Ādhāra Kārikā:—

“तीर्थे अपच”

This is what the following lines which precede the quotation make clear :—

तस्मादेवं विध्यनुवादौ सदा येन भावितमन्तःकरणं तदेवान्ते प्रयाणानन्तरं प्राप्यते तच्च स्मर्यते न वा इति नात्र निर्बन्धः अन्वाचयश्चायमपिशब्देन सूचितः स्मरणस्यासर्वथाभावं वा शब्दः स्फुटयति ।

His position regarding the remembrance at the time of death is summarily stated in the following lines:—

तेनेत्यमत्र पदसंगतिः सदा यं यं भावं स्मरन् कलेवरं त्यजति अन्तेऽपि वा स्मरन् वा ग्रहणात् स्मरन् वा तं तमेवैति अतोऽसौ सदा तद्भावेन भावितः

The Vedic Śruti "ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति" does not support this position. Hence it cannot be supposed to be even in the mind of Abhinava in this context.

There are two meanings which are ordinarily found attributed to this Śruti.

(I) That after the knowledge (realisation?) of the Brahman, there remains nothing to be done for the attainment of the final emancipation; this meaning is attributed to it by Śaṅkarācārya himself in the following words in his commentary on the Vedānta Sūtra.

तत्तु समन्वयात् ।

1-1-4.

It runs as follows:—

अपि च ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति इत्येवमाद्याः श्रुतयो ब्रह्मविद्यानन्तरं मोक्षं दर्शयन्त्यो मध्ये कार्यान्तरं वारयन्ति ।

(Śaṅkara Bhāṣya, p. 74.)

and (II) that there is undoubted attainment of the final emancipation after the Brahmajñāna. This meaning is attributed to it by Ānandagiri in his commentary on the verses of the Bhagavad-gītā under discussion. It runs as follows:—

ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति इत्यादि श्रुतिमाश्रित्याह—नास्तीति । व्यासेष्यं संशयमेवाभिनयति याति नेति ।

Thus there is no reference to remembrance in the above vedic Śruti. And a Śruti with a particular reference to remembrance is needed in this context.

Further, there is the word “प्रमाणभूत” preceding the word “श्रुति”. And it has been shown in the introductory paragraph that the Trika School of Śaiva Philosophy of which Abhinava is the chief exponent, does not recognise the authority of the Veda. Therefore in this context there is no room for the supposition of any other text than that which is accepted to be of respectable authority, by this school.

Furthermore, finding the word Upaniṣad and Śruti used for the non-vedic texts of respectable authority, as shown above, there is no necessity of supposition that “with “अस्ति हि” “तीर्थे” etc., we have the next sentence giving additional authority”. There is another reason also against such an interpretation. Abhinava when giving additional authority clearly states that he is doing so by using some such words as “अपि च”. Here, however, as if having some such person as doubted the existence of such an authoritative text in his mind and replying to such a person, he affirms the existence of such a text by the words “अस्ति हि”

These are just a few considerations which weighed with me when I said in my Abhinavagupta “as from a Śruti” which has been criticised by Dr. Raghavan in his paper on “Abhinavagupta and the Bhāṣya on the Yogasūtras” published in the Annals of Oriental Research, Vol. III, 1938-39, Part II.

As for the tradition in South India among those who dance in accordance with the instructions of Bharata as interpreted by Abhinavagupta, regarding Abhinavagupta being looked upon as an incarnation of Śeṣa, I have to say that it was at Benares that I came to know of this tradition from my learned teacher Śrīmān Damodar Lalji Goswami who is now one of the topmost, if not the topmost, Pandits of Benares, and who has been interested in Abhinavagupta for the last fifty years. He will, I hope, corroborate my statement, if he is referred to. I mentioned this tradition in my work after I was told of its existence by some people in South India also whose names it is difficult for me to recollect now.

Abhinavagupta was very popular in South India and traditions had been woven round about him. At least one of the traditions that he was an incarnation of Paramaśiva I have found recorded by a writer, probably a South Indian, who has com-

mented upon Abhinava's Īśvara Pratyabhijñā Vimarsinī. A Ms. of this commentary was discovered in the library of Manaveda Arjuna Raja Pudu Kovilakam, Calicut and got transcribed in 1923-24 by the authorities of the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras which I also got transcribed in 1934 under the kind supervision of Prof. P.P.S. Sastri of the Madras University. The Ms. on the very first page runs as follows:—

इह विश्वानुजिघृक्षापरः परमशिव एव सकलभूमण्डलोत्तरे श्रीमच्छारदादि-  
दिव्यक्रीडासदने श्रीकाश्मीरदेशे श्रीनरसिंहगुप्तसहधर्मिण्यां श्रीमत्यां विमलाया-  
मवतीर्य श्रीमदभिनवगुप्तनाथ इति प्रख्याताभिधानः ।



# PHONETIC CHANGES IN TAMIL WORDS BORROWED FROM CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

BY

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As the inevitable result of the study of books written in Sanskrit in literature, philosophy, the arts and the sciences, Tamil writers have freely borrowed Sanskrit words when they compose works of their own on similar subjects. It is true that there are already Tamil equivalents for many of these words. But the borrowing is necessary in many instances for want of corresponding words in Tamil. There is no doubt that the contact of the two cultures has led to an enrichment of the resources of the Tamil language as a medium of expression.

Since the Tamil alphabet does not contain a number of letters found in Sanskrit, it becomes necessary to modify the borrowed words to suit the Tamil script. Even when there are corresponding sounds and letters, the loan words from Sanskrit are often modified to fit in with the phonetic system of the Tamil language. Sometimes Sanskrit words are used by Tamil writers without any change of sound or letter. Often they are modified. The same author sometimes uses a borrowed word without modifying it and, at other times in the same book, uses it in a modified form. The authors of *Tolkāppiyam* and *Nannūl* have briefly indicated a few of these sound changes undergone by Sanskrit words in the writings of Tamil authors.

The author of *Nannūl* is more elaborate than *Tolkāppiyāṇār* and has given a fairly full account of the changes undergone by consonants when Sanskrit words are borrowed in Tamil. Of the changes of Sanskrit vowels in similar circumstances, his treatment is meagre and is confined only to a few broad and well-known generalizations. The object of this article is to make a fuller study of the changes of vowels made in Sanskrit words when they are imported into Tamil. The word *Nannūl* is given in brackets in all cases where the phonetic change has already been

pointed out by the author of that book. It will be seen from what follows that I am confining myself to loan-words from classical Sanskrit of which alone I have some knowledge.

*N.B.* The scheme of transliteration of Tamil words into English followed in this article is that of the editors of the Tamil Lexicon published by the University of Madras. That for Sanskrit is given below:—

*Vowels.* अ=a; आ=ā, as in Kālidāsa; इ=i, as in Indra; ई=ī, as in Īśvara; उ=u, as in Uttara; ऊ=ū, as in Mūka; ऋ=r, as in Kṛṣṇa; ए=ē, as in Mēnakā; ओ=ō, as in Gōtra; औ=au, as in Mauni.

*Consonants.* क् k; ख् kh; ग् g; घ् gh; ङ् ṅ  
 च् c; छ् ch; ज् j; झ् jh; ण् ṇ  
 ट् ṭ; ठ् ṭh; ड् ḍ; ढ् ḍh; ण् ṇ  
 त् t; थ् th; द् d; ध् dh; न् n  
 प् p; फ् ph; ब् b; भ् bh; म् m  
 य् y; र् r; ल् l; व् v  
 श्=ś  
 ष्=ṣ  
 स=s  
 ह्=h=visarga(:)

# I

## SANSKRIT VOWELS.

### Sanskrit अ (a).

1. The vowel अ in the first syllable of a Sanskrit word usually remains unchanged:—

eg.	Skt.	Tam.
	जलधि jaladhi	சலதி calati
	अग्नि agni	அக்கினி akkini
	हय haya	அயம் ayam
	रव rava	அரவம் aravam

2. अ (a) in the first syllable is sometimes changed to ए (e) in Tamil:—

e.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	गति gati	கதி keti
	बहु bahu	கெது veku

गज gaja	கெசம் kecam
दशा daśā	தெசை tecai
जमदग्नि jamadagni	செமதக்கினி cematakkiṇi

3. अ (a) in the first syllable when followed by ह् (h) or a conjunct consonant is often lengthened to आ (ā) in Tamil, the succeeding syllable being dropped.

<i>e.g.</i> Skt.	Tam.
अहङ्कार ahankāra	ஆங்காரம் āṅkāram
कञ्चुक kañcuka	காஞ்சுகம் kāñcukam
गर्दभ gardabha	கார்த்தபம் kārṭṭapam
अङ्गिरस् aṅgiras	அங்கிரன் āṅkiran
महाजिन mahājana	மாசனம் mācaṇam
सहवास sahavāsa	சாவாசம் cāvācam
सहदेव sahadēva	சாதேவன் cādēvaṇ
चन्दन candana	சாந்து cāntu
सहस्र sahasra	ஆயிரம் āyiram (for the dropping of initial s in Tamil, other examples will be given later.)
रहस्य rahasya	இராகியம் irāciyam

4. अ (a) in the first syllable of Sanskrit words is, in a few instances, changed to इ (i) in Tamil:—

<i>e.g.</i> Skt.	Tam.
कषाय kaṣāya	கிஷாயம் kiṣāḷam
कडार kaḍāra	கிடாரம் kiṭāram

5. Sometimes this अ is dropped:—

<i>e.g.</i> Skt.	Tam.
अकिञ्चन akiñcana	கிஞ்சனன் kiñcaṇaṇ
अनूप anūpa	நூபம் nūpam (ox)

6. अ (a) occurring in the middle of a Sanskrit word is sometimes changed to इ (i) in Tamil:—

<i>e.g.</i> Skt.	Tam.
मण्डल maṇḍala	மண்டிலம் maṇṭilam
अरोचक arōcaka	அரோசகம் arōcikam

पाटली pāṭalī	பா <sub>2</sub> திரி pātiri
धानक dhānaka	தானிகம் tāṇikam
पठनं paṭhana	படி <sub>2</sub> ணம் paṭiṇam
पिप्पल pippala	திப்பி <sub>2</sub> லி tippili

7. Medial अ (a) sometimes changes also into उ (u) in Tamil:—

c.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	अरुन्धती Arundhatī	அரு <sub>2</sub> ந்துதி aruntuti
	गौतम Gautama	கௌ <sub>2</sub> தமன் kautuman

The change in these cases is due to the influence of the vowels that precede or follow.

8. Medial अ (a) is sometimes lengthened into आ (ā) in Tamil:—

c.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	किन्नर kinnara	கிண்ணாரம் kiṇṇāram
	पञ्जर pañjara	பஞ்சாரம் pañcāram
	संघट्ट saṅghaṭṭa	சங்காட்டம் caṅkāṭṭam
	पट paṭa	படாம் paṭām

9. Final अ (a) in Sanskrit is often changed to ஐ (ai) in Tamil:—

c.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	तात tāta	தா <sub>2</sub> தை tātai
	आर āra	ஆ <sub>2</sub> ரை ārai
	रसुन rasuna	இராசன <sub>2</sub> ை irācaṇai
	छन्दस् chandas	சந்தை <sub>2</sub> cantai (சொல்லுதல்)
	चीर cīra	சீ <sub>2</sub> ரை cīrai
	पटल paṭala	பட <sub>2</sub> லை paṭalai
	वृष vṛṣa	வி <sub>2</sub> டை viṭai
	गुम्फ gumpha	கு <sub>2</sub> ப்பை kuppai
	शाण śāṇa	சா <sub>2</sub> ணை cāṇai
	चेल cēla	சே <sub>2</sub> லை cēlai

10. Final अ (a) in Sanskrit, especially in neuter nouns, is very often changed to उ (u) in Tamil:—

<i>c.g.</i>	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Tam.</i>
	दैव daiva	தேவு tēvu
	रूप rūpa	உருவு uruvu
	भेद bhēda	பேது pētu
	स्फटिक sphaṭika	பளிங்கு paḷiṅku (initial <i>ṣ</i> is dropped)
	क्रमुक kramuka	கமுகு kamuku
	मुरज muraja	முரசு muracu
	मन्थ mantha	மத்து mattu
	अक्ष akṣa	அச்சு accu
	सार sāra	சாறு cāru
	पित्त pitta	பித்து pittu
	अमृत amṛta	அமுது amutu
	दण्ड daṇḍa	தண்டு taṇṭu
	द्वीप dvīpa	தீவு tīvu
	शङ्ख śaṅkha	சங்கு caṅku
	लोक lōka	உலகு ulaku
	लक्ष्य lakṣya	இலக்கு ilakku
	समर्थ samartha	சமத்து camattu
	भ्रान्त bhrānta	பிராந்து pirāntu
	सुलभ sulabha (Pkt सुलह sulaha)	சுளுகு cuḷuku
	सार्थ sārtha	சாத்து cāttu
	विरुद biruda	வீருது virutu

11. Final अ (*a*) in a Sanskrit word is sometimes changed to इ (*i*) in Tamil:—

<i>c.g.</i>	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Tam.</i>
	आचार्य ācārya	ஆசாரி ācāri
	भुवन bhuvana	புவனி puvaṇi
	लशुन laśuna	இலசுனி ilaicuṇi
	मुञ्ज muñja	முஞ்சி muñci
	द्रोण drōṇa	தூணி tūṇi

व्याल॑ vyāla

யாளி॑ yāli

पाटल॑ pāṭala

பாடிலி॑ pātiri

चतुर॑ catura

சதிரி॑ catiri

12. Final अ (a) in Sanskrit words is often dropped in Tamil when it is immediately preceded by the consonants ल (l) र (r) न (n) ण (ṇ).

e.g. Skt.

Tam.

नगर॑ nagara

நகர்॑ nakar

कुल॑ kulāla

குலால்॑ kulāl

समर॑ samara

அமர்॑ amar (the initial स् being also dropped)

स्थूण॑ sthūṇa

தூண்॑ tūṇ Do.

अनल॑ anala

அனல்॑ aṇal

कपाल॑ kapāla

கபால்॑ kapāl

मुकुल॑ mukula

முகிழ்॑ mukil

पूर॑ pūra

பூர் (வெள்ளம்)॑ pūr

बधिर॑ badhira

வெதிர்॑ vetir

उशीर॑ uśīra

உயிர்॑ uyir

वाल॑ vāla

வால்॑ vāl

नितल॑ nitala

நுதல்॑ nutal

कपोल॑ kapōla

கவுள்॑ kavuḷ

अखिल॑ akhila

அகில்॑ akil

13. अ followed by य (y) in Sanskrit words is often changed into ஐ (ai) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt.

Tam.

पयस्॑ payas

பைசு (milk)॑ paiśu

विनय॑ vinaya

வினையம்॑ viṇaiyam

विषय॑ viṣaya

விடையம்॑ viṭaiyam

The vowel आ (ā).

1. आ (ā) in Sanskrit words, initial, medial or final, is often shortened to अ (a) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt.

Tam.

कुमार॑ kumāra

குமரன்॑ kumaraṇ

पातक॑ pātaka

பதகன்॑ patakaṇ

पाताल pātāla	பா <sup>—</sup> தலம் pātalam
प्रवाल pravāla	பா <sup>—</sup> வழம் pavaḷam
राजा rājā	அ <sup>—</sup> ரசன் aracaṇ
स्वरावली svarāvalī	ச <sup>—</sup> ரளி carali
जानकी jānakī	ச <sup>—</sup> னகி caṇaki
काञ्ची kāñcī	க <sup>—</sup> ஞ்சி kañci
कलाप kalāpa	க <sup>—</sup> லவம் kalavam
स्थाली sthālī	த <sup>—</sup> களி or த <sup>—</sup> கழி takali, takali
ताम्बूल tāmbūla	த <sup>—</sup> ம்பல் tampal
नाल nāla	ந <sup>—</sup> ளம் naḷam
माद्री mādrī	ம <sup>—</sup> த்திரை mattirai
भाण्डार bhāṇḍāra	ப <sup>—</sup> ண்டாரம் paṇṭāram
पातकी pātakī	ப <sup>—</sup> தகி pataki
काष्ठ kāṣṭha (Pkt. कष्ट kaṣṭa)	க <sup>—</sup> ட்டை kaṭṭai

2. Initial आ in Sanskrit words is sometimes dropped when the word is taken into Tamil:—

<i>e.g.</i> Skt.	<i>Tam.</i>
आकाश ākāśa	க <sup>—</sup> ாயம் kāyam
आगम्य āgāmya	க <sup>—</sup> ம்யம் kāmym

3. Final आ (ā) is always changed to ஐ (ai) in Tamil and is therefore one of the changes pointed out by Tamil grammarians (Naṇṇūl).

<i>e.g.</i> Skt.	<i>Tam.</i>
आशा āśā	ஆ <sup>—</sup> சை ācai
शाला śālā	சா <sup>—</sup> லை cālai
तनया tanayā	த <sup>—</sup> னயை taṇayai
शिविका śibikā	சி <sup>—</sup> விகை civikai
सेना sēnā	சே <sup>—</sup> னை cēnai
अमात्य (अमा) amātya	அ <sup>—</sup> மைச்சர் amaiccar
पीडा pīḍā	பீ <sup>—</sup> ழை pīlai
रम्भा rambhā	அ <sup>—</sup> ரம்பை arampai
सभा sabhā	அ <sup>—</sup> வை avai (initial s being also dropped)

विद्या vidyā	விஞ்ஞை viññai
कथा kathā	கதை katai
योजना yōjanā	ஒசனை oṣanai

4. Final आ (ā), when preceded by a conjunct consonant of which the second member is य् (y), is changed into इ (i) in Tamil, the य् (y) being dropped.

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
कन्या kanyā	கண்ணி kanni
अयोध्या ayōdhyā	அயோத்தி ayōtti
उपाध्याय upādhyāya	வாத்தியார் vāttiyār
वेद्या vēśyā	வேடி vēci
भार्या bhāryā	பாரி pāri
सन्ध्या sandhyā	சந்தி canti
(सन्धि)	அந்தி anti (the initial s being
Sandhi	dropped)
अहल्या ahalyā	அகலி akali
कक्ष्या kakṣyā	கட்சி kaṭci
हत्या hatyā	அத்தி atti

The vowel इ (i).

The vowel इ (i) often undergoes no change.

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
मुक्ति mukti	முத்தி mutti
तिलक tilaka	திலகம் tilakam
जलधि jaladhi	சலதி calati
अभिनय abhinaya	அபிநயம் apinayam
अग्नि agni	அக்கினி akkini

1. The vowel इ coming at the end of the first syllable of a Sanskrit word is sometimes lengthened into ऋ (ī) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
कितव kitava	கிதவம் kītavam
विपणि vipaṇi	வீபணி vīpaṇi



सितक sitaka	சீதகன் (Venus) cītakan
निम nibha	நீபம் (reason) nīpam
विहित vihita	வீதம் vītam

2. When इ (i) is followed by a conjunct consonant, it is often lengthened to ई (ī) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
शिष्य śiṣya	சீடன் cītan
हिंसा himsā	{ ஈங்கிசை īṅkicai ஈஞ்சை īñcai
उद्भिजा udbhijjā	உற்பீசம் urpīcam

3. Medial इ (i) is often changed to अ (a) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
रोहिणी rōhiṇī	உரோகணி urōkaṇi
सपिण्डी sapinḍī	சவண்டி cavanṭi
सन्निधि sannidhi	சன்னதி canṇati
दक्षिणा dakṣiṇā	தக்கணை takkaṇai
दक्षिण dakṣiṇa	தக்கணம் takkaṇam
नन्दिनी nandini	நந்தனி nantaṇi
पट्टिका paṭṭikā	பட்டயம் paṭṭayam

4. So also इ (i) whether it be initial, medial or final, is sometimes changed to ए (u) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
निटिल niṭila	நுதல் nutal
अरिष्ट ariṣṭa	அருட்டம் aruṭṭam
हरिण hariṇa	அருணம் aruṇam
सिद्धि siddhi	சித்து cittu
पिण्याक piṇyāka	புண்ணாக்கு punṇākkū
सिन्दूर sindūra	சந்தரம் cundaram

5. When इ (i) is followed by य (y) it is often changed to ए (ē) in Tamil:—

<i>e.g.</i>	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Tam.</i>
	नियति niyati	நெதி nēti
	नियामक niyāmaka	நெமகம் nēmakam
	नियम niyama	நெமம் nēmam
	तिथि tithi	தேதி tēti

6. Sometimes ई in the first syllable of Sanskrit words is changed to ए (e) in Tamil:—

<i>e.g.</i>	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Tam.</i>
	निष्ठुरा niṣṭhurā	நெட்டூரம் neṭṭūram
	सिन्दूर sindūra	செந்தூரம் centūram
	निधि nidhi	நெதி neti

*The vowel ई (i).*

1. ई in Sanskrit words, medial or final is invariably shortened in Tamil (Naṇṇūl).

<i>e.g.</i>	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Tam.</i>
(a)	भागीरथी bhāgīrathī	பகிரதி pakirati
	भगीरथ bhagīratha	பகிரதன் pakiratan
	महीतल mahīṭala	மகிதலம் makitalam
	पुनीत punīta	புனிதம் punitam
	अनीक anīka	அனிகம் aṇikam
	पाटीर pāṭīra	பாடிரம் pāṭiram
	उत्तरीय uttarīya	உத்தரிகம் uttarikam
	उदासीन udāsīna	உதாசினம் utāciṇam
	खलीन khalīna	கலினம் kalinam
(b)	नदी nadī	நதி nati (Naṇṇūl)
	वीथी vīthī	வீதி vīti
	धरणी dharāṇī	தரணி tarāṇi
	चेटी cēṭī	சேடி cēṭi
	दासी dāsī	தாதி tāti

पत्नी patnī	{ பன்னி panni பத்தினி pattini
वल्ली vallī	{ வள்ளி valli வல்லி valli
तुलसी tulasī	துளவி tuḷavi
गोष्ठी gōṣṭhī	கோட்டி kōṭṭi
सूची sūcī	சூசி ūci (the initial s being, as usual, dropped in Tamil).

2. Medial ई (ī) is sometimes changed to அ (a) in Tamil:—  
e.g. Skt. Tam.

खलीन khalīna	கலனை kalanaḥ
कौपीन kaupīna	கோவணம் kōvaṇam

The vowel उ (u).

उ (u) initial, medial, or final, rarely undergoes change.

e.g. Skt. Tam.	
गुरु guru	குரு kuru
कुमार kumāra	குமாரன் kumāraṇ
चतुष्क catuṣka	சதக்கம் catukkam
विष्णु viṣṇu	விட்டுணு viṭṭuṇu
मधु madhu	மது matu
उमा umā	உமை umai

1. But when the vowel उ (u) is followed by a conjunct consonant, it is sometimes lengthened in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt. Tam.	
कुन्तल kuntala	கூந்தல் kūntal
कुद्दाल kuddāla	கூந்தாலி kūntāli
पुष्य puṣya	பூசம் pūcam
उन्मत्त unmatṭa	உன்மத்தை ūmattai

2. So also when उ is followed by a syllable ending in a long vowel it is lengthened:—

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e.g. Skt. Tam.

उदार udāra

உதாரி ūdāri

उदीची udīcī

உதிசி ūci

3. Medial उ (u) in Sanskrit is often changed to ஓ (ō) in Tamil in the same way as medial इ (i) is changed to ஓ (ō).

e.g. Skt. Tam.

चतुरश्र caturaśra

சதிரம் catiram

आतुर ātura

ஆதிரம் āttiram

मानुष mānuṣa

மானிடன் mānitan

तुमुल tumula

{ திமில் timil  
திமிலம் timilam

पुरुष puruṣa

புரிசம் puricam

चतुर catura

சதிரி catiri

4. उ (u) (medial or final) is sometimes changed to अ (a) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt. Tam.

कुक्कुर kukkura

குக்கர் kukkar

कमण्डलु kamaṇḍalu

கமண்டலம் kamaṇṭalam

कुस्तुम्बरी kustumbarī

உத்தம்பரி uttampari

5. उ (u) coming in the first syllable of Sanskrit word is often changed to ஓ (ō) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt. Tam.

कुत्सा kutsā

கொச்சை koccāi

कुठार kuṭhāra

கொடரி koṭari

कुस्तुम्बरी kustumbarī

கொத்தமரி kottamari

तुन्दी tundi

தொந்தி tonti

पुष्करिणी puṣkarīṇi (Pkt. पोकरिणि பொக்கரிணி pokkarīṇi)

मुकुल mukula

மொக்குள் mokkuḷ

पुस्तक pustaka

பொத்தகம் pottakam

कुन्तल kuntala

கொந்தளம் kontalaṁ

6. The उ (u) of the first syllable is sometimes changed also to ஓ (ō) in Tamil:—

<i>c.g.</i>	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Tam.</i>
	मुखर mukhara	மோகரம் mōkaram
	कुठार kuṭhāra	கோடாரி kōṭāri
	उपाधि upādhi	ஓபாதி ōpādhi
	उपजीवन upajivana	ஓசிவனம் ōcīvaṇam

*The vowel ऊ.*

There are many instances of ऊ (ū) in Sanskrit words remaining unchanged in Tamil:—

<i>c.g.</i>	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Tam.</i>
	तूणीर tūṇīra	தூணி tūṇi
	धूप dhūpa	தூபம் tūpam
	यूथ yūtha	ஊதம் ūtam
	मूढ mūḍha	மூடன் mūṭaṇ

1. It may be stated as a general rule that, when ऊ (ū) is modified, it is shortened, be it initial, medial or final:—

<i>c.g.</i>	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Tam.</i>
a.	रूप rūpa	உருவம் uruvam
	रूपक rūpaka	உருவாகம் uruvakam
	चूर्ण cūrṇa	சுண்ணம் cuṇṇam
	तूल tūla	தூலம் tūlam
	धूम dhūmra	தூமிரம் tumiram
	तुलिका tūlikā	தூலிகை tukilikai
b.	सिन्दूर sindūra	சிந்தூரம் cinturam
	कर्पूर karpūra	கர்ப்பூரம் kappuram
	स्वरूप svarūpa	சுருவம் curuvam
	समूह samūha	சமூகம் camukam
	असूया asūyā	அசூயை acuyai
c.	सरयू sarayū	சரயு carayu
	जम्बू jambū	சம்பு campu
	चमू camū	சமூ camu

*The vowel ऋ (ṛ).*

The Sanskrit vowel ऋ (ṛ) has no counterpart in the Tamil alphabet, and Sanskrit words having this vowel have necessarily to be modified in the process of borrowing. The author of *Nannūl* has referred to two kinds of change undergone by this vowel in Tamil. They are indicated below:—

1. Initial ऋ (ṛ) is changed to ரு (ru). As the phonetic system of Tamil requires the precedence of இ (i) before ரு (ru), it may be said that initial ऋ is changed to இரு (iru) in Tamil (*Nannūl*):—

e.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	ऋषि ṛṣi	இருடி iruṭi
	ऋण ṛṇa	இருணம் iruṇam
	ऋतु ṛtu	இருது irutu

2. In words like ऋषभ (ṛṣabha) and हृदय (hṛdaya) the ரு (ru) is dropped and the இ (i) alone remains (*Nannūl*):—

e.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	ऋषभ ṛṣabha	இடபம் iṭapam
	हृदय hṛdaya	இதயம் itayam
	कृतयुग kṛtayuga	கதயுகம் kitayukam
	वृषली vṛṣalī	விடலி viṭali
	वृत्तं vṛttam	வித்தம் vittam
	शृङ्गार śṛṅgāra	சுங்காரம் ciṅkāram
	वृषण vṛṣaṇa	விடணம் viṭaṇam
	वृष vṛṣa	விடை viṭai
	दृढ dṛḍha	திடம் tiṭam

3. Medial ऋ (ṛ) is also commonly changed to இரு (iru) in Tamil:—

e.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	प्रकृति prakṛti	பிரகிருதி pirakiruti
	अमृत amṛta	அமிருதம் amirutam
	कृष्ण kṛṣṇa	கிருட்டிணன் kiruṭṭiṇan

4. Initial and medial ऋ (ṛ) is also sometimes changed to அ (a) in Tamil:—

e.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	ऋण ṛṇa	ரணம் raṇam
	प्रकृति prakṛti (Pkt. पगडि pagadi)	பகடி pakati
	प्राकृत् prākṛt	பாகதம் pakatam
	शृङ्खला śṛṅkhalā	சங்கிலி caṅkili
	संस्कृत saṁskṛta	சங்கதம் caṅkatam
	वृत्त vṛtta (Pkt. वट्ट vaṭṭa)	வட்டம் vaṭṭam
	वृद्धि vṛddhi	வட்டி vaṭṭi

5. Medial ऋ (ṛ) is occasionally changed also to உ (u) in Tamil:—

e.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	विकृति vikṛti	விகுதி vikuti
	प्रकृति prakṛti	பகுதி pakuti

6. Final ऋ (ṛ) is changed to இரி (iri) in Tamil—

e.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	होतृ hotṛ	ஓத்திரி öttiri

The vowel ए (ē).

Initial ए (ē) in Sanskrit words rarely undergoes change:—

e.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	वेद vēda	வேதம் vētam
	मेघ mēgha	மேகம் mēkam
	तेजस् tējas	தேச tēcu
	चेटी cēṭi	சேடி cēṭi

1. But in some words, the ए (ē) of even the first syllable is seen shortened in Tamil:—

e.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	सेवती sēvati	செவத்தி cevanti

पेटी pēṭi	பெட்டி peṭṭi (the following consonant being dou- bled).
वेगा vēgā	வெகைகா (the river Vēgavati vekā).
चेट cēṭa	செடன் ceṭaṇ
प्रेत prēta	பிரேதம் piretam

2. There are a few instances of medial ए (ē) being changed to अ (a) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
संदेह sandēha	சந்தையம் candayam
प्रेत prēta	பிரேதம் piratam

The vowel ऐ (ai).

1. ऐ (ai) in Sanskrit words initial or medial, is usually changed to अयि (ayi) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
शैल śāila	சயிலம் cayilam
ऐरावत airāvata	அயிராவதம் ayirāvatam
उच्चैश्रवस् uccaiśśravas	உச்சயிச்சிரவம் uccayiccira- vam.

2. Sometimes Sanskrit ऐ (ai) is changed to எய் (ey) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
दैव daiva	தெய்வம் teyvam

3. There are instances also of ऐ (ai) in Sanskrit being changed to इ (i) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
नैरृत nairṛta	நிருதர் nirutar

4. ऐ before voiceless stops is usually unchanged:—

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
वैकुण्ठ vaikunṭha	வகைகுந்தம் vaikuntam



5. ऐ (i) in the first syllable of a Sanskrit word is often changed to ஏ (ē) in Tamil:—

e.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	ऐन्द्र aindra	ஐந்திரம் ĩntiram
	दैव daivam	தேவு tēvu
	चैत्य caitya	சேதியம் cētiyam

The vowel ओ (ō).

1. ओ (ō) in the first syllable of a Sanskrit word remains, in general, unchanged:—

e.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	गोल gōla	கோளம் kōlam
	ओषधि oṣadhi	ஔதி oṭati
	लोभ lōbha	உலோபம் ulōpam
	योजना yojanā	ஔனை ocanai

2. But ओ (ō) occurring before a conjunct consonant is often shortened to ஒ (o) in Tamil:—

e.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	गोष्ठक gōṣṭhaka	கொட்டகம் koṭṭakam
	ओद् oḍhra	ஔட்ரம் oṭṭaram
	गोष्ठी gōṣṭhī	கொட்டி koṭṭi
	गोष्ठ gōṣṭha	கொட்டில் koṭṭil

3. ओ (ō) coming after the consonant ल् (l) is often changed to ஁ (a) in Tamil:—

e.g.	Skt.	Tam.
	लोक lōka	உலகம் ulakam
	लोकायत lōkāyata	உலகாயதம் ulakāyatam
	लोभ lōbha	உலவம் ulavam

4. ओ (ō), initial or medial, is sometimes changed to ஁ or ஁ (u or ū) in Tamil:—

<i>e.g.</i>	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Tam.</i>
	कठोर kaṭhōra	கடூரம் kaṭūram
	गोलोमि gōlōmi	குலோமி kulōmi
	कपोल kapōla	கவுல் kavul

The vowel औ (au).

1. औ (au) in the first syllable of a Sanskrit word is usually changed to ஔ (ō) in Tamil:—

<i>e.g.</i>	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Tam.</i>
	गौतम gautama	கோதமன் gōtaman
	कौशिक kauśika	கோசிகன் kōcikan
	मौनी maunī	மோகினி mōkiṇi
	कौपीन kaupīna	கோவணம் kōvaṇam
	तौर्य taurya	தோரியம் tōriyam

2. Equally common is the change of Sanskrit औ (au) to அவு (avvu) in Tamil:—

<i>e.g.</i>	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Tam.</i>
	औषध auṣadha	அவுடதம் avuṭatam
	मौलि mauḷī	மவுலி mavuli
	कौसल्या kausalyā	கவுசலை kavucalai
	शौरि śauri	சவுரி cavuri
	नौः nauḥ	நவ்வு navvu
	श्रौती śrautī	சவுதி cavuti

3. औ coming after the consonant ल् (l) is changed into ஁ (a) (cf. ओ after ल् before) in Tamil:—

<i>e.g.</i>	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Tam.</i>
	लौकिक laukika	உலகிகம் ulakikam

4. औ in the first or other syllables is sometimes changed to ஁ (au) in Tamil:—

<i>e.g.</i>	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Tam.</i>
	भौम bhauma	பூமன் (Mars) būman
	सर्वभौम sārva <b>bh</b> auma	சார்வபூமன் cārvapūman

# A NEW SANSKRIT WORK OF KṚṢṆADEVARĀYA

BY

V. PRABHAKARA SASTRI.

(Govt. Oriental Mss. Library Madras)

Kṛṣṇadevarāya states in his Āmuktamālyadā that he composed some works in Sanskrit, *viz.*, Madālasācarita, Jñānacintāmaṇi, Sakalakathāsārasaṅgraha, Satyāvadhūprīṇana and Rasamañjarī. Some verses from the Rasamañjarī and Satyāvadhūprīṇana are cited in the Sanskrit anthological work called the Prapañca-darpaṇa,<sup>1</sup> in which, however, these works are attributed not to Kṛṣṇarāya himself, but to his poet laureate Allasāni Peddana. It may, however, be noted that, like other anthologies, this Prapañca-darpaṇa also shows a good deal of confusion regarding the authorship of works cited in it.

A play ascribed to Kṛṣṇarāya, called the Jāmbavatikalyāṇa not mentioned in the Āmuktamālyadā, is found in the Sarasvatī Mahal Library at Tanjore. A part of the prastāvanā in this play is lost. But what remains of the prastāvanā and the colophon makes it clear that Kṛṣṇarāya is the author of the work.

शेषश्चाधरनायकस्य कृपया सप्तार्णवीमध्यगां

रक्षन् गामिहि कृष्णरायनृपतिर्जीयात्सहस्रं समाः ।

A new Sanskrit work of Kṛṣṇarāya has been recently discovered in the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library. The Ms. is a fragment containing only the introductory portion of the work. The names of the work and the author cannot be distinctly made out, but from the verses that are preserved, there can be no doubt that the work was written by Kṛṣṇadevarāya. From the drift of the verses we can make out the name of the work as the Sakalakathāsārasaṅgraha. In the Āmuktamālyadā it is said that Kṛṣṇadevarāya culled out stories from Śruti, Purāṇa, Upapurāṇa and Saṁhitā and composed the Sakalakathāsārasaṅgraha. The Ms. mentioned above answers this description. Therefore I have identified it as the Sakalakathāsārasaṅgraha.

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1. A Ms. of this work was acquired near the border of Orissa for the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library,

Kṛṣṇarāya states that he undertook to write this work at the command of his Guru Vyāsa Tīrtha. Vyāsarāya is said to have been a Guru of Kṛṣṇadevarāya according to Mādhva literary tradition; but no exact reference to this fact is found in any known historical work. It is noteworthy that this fact is explicitly mentioned in this work composed by Kṛṣṇadevarāya himself. The poet Ayyalarāzu Rāmbhadra began to compose in Telugu at the instance of Kṛṣṇadevarāya a big Vaiṣṇavite Prabandha called Sakalakathāsārasaṅgrahamu, to be dedicated to the king, but owing probably to the unexpected death of the Rāya, the work was not completed. This unfinished work is available in the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library. It can be inferred that this Telugu compilation of Rāmbhadra is an adaptation of the Rāya's Sanskrit work of the same name, mentioned in the Āmuktamālyadā, and written by the Rāya at the instance of Vyāsarāya as is known from the available fragmentary Ms. There seems to be a similar connection between the Sanskrit Satyāvadhūprīṇana of Kṛṣṇarāya and the Telugu Pārijātāpaharaṇa of Nandi Timmanna, both of which deal with the same story. Though the Sanskrit original is not available, its Telugu adaptation is available.

Extracts from the Madras Ms. of the Sakalakathāsārasaṅgraha of Kṛṣṇarāya.

स बुक्कमम्बां परिणीय तस्या-  
मौदार्यगाम्भीर्यविवेकशौर्यैः ।  
दाक्षिण्यकारुण्यनयैश्च युक्तं  
लेभे तनूजं नरसक्षितीशम् ॥

स बाल एवावनिमर्णवान्ता-  
मत्यर्थ(?)शौर्येण निरङ्कुशेन ।  
मान्धातृमुख्यान् महितान् महीपान्  
यशोविशेषैरखिलानजैषीत् ॥

बाहोर्बलेनार्जितवित्तजातैः  
कृतार्थयित्वाखिलमर्थसार्थम् ।  
काशीप्रयागादिमहार्हतीर्थे  
महान्ति दानानि मुहुश्चकार ॥

कुलेन शीलेन गुणेन भक्त्या  
 प्रेम्णानुकूल्येन च संयुतायाम् ।  
 नागाम्बिकायां नरसक्षितीशः  
 प्रासूत मां न्यक्कृतवैरिवर्गः ॥

सोऽहं सुतं श्लाघ्यगुणान्वितायां  
 तिमाम्बिकायामिह तिमभूयम् ।  
 उत्पाद्य नामास्य सहार्थजातैः  
 समार्पयं वेङ्कटशैलभर्त्रे ॥

एवं च चेतस्यनवाप्य तृप्तिं  
 वाचापि पूजां कलये कथं वा ।  
 श्रीवेङ्कटाधीशितुरित्युदारं  
 चित्ते विचारं कलयन्नवात्सम् ॥

उत्साहं मम वीक्ष्य महुरुरथ श्रीव्यासतीर्थो मुनिः  
 पर्यालोच्य पुराणशास्त्रविविधान्नायेतिहासादिकान् ।  
 लब्धास्तत्र कथा हरेः पशुपतेः साम्यं निरूप्या(निरस्या)धिकं  
 विष्णुं कीर्तय सर्वथेत्युपदिशन् मह्यं मुदा दत्तवान् ॥

# ANCIENT TAMILIAN WARFARE<sup>1</sup>

BY

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The fighting instinct is always inherent in brutes as well as human beings. Many take to the offensive and many others have to fight purely in self-defence. The bigger fish swallow the small ones and the latter make short work of still smaller ones. 'Might is right' and, 'Bali rājā pṛthvyah' are very familiar sayings. The stronger man subdues the weak only to be overcome in his turn by a still stronger man (Matsya-Nyāya). The former held his sway undisputed while the weaker went to the wall. Wildest and the most dastardly acts of murder were perpetrated in those days.

What then is the reason for these rude acts? Extreme selfishness and want of consideration for one's neighbour were at the root of all these. These crude sentiments caused incessant struggles in communities. Whenever two people aim at a common object and both are equally obstinate in securing it, we have what is called a rival attitude. Strong desire or passion begets wrath which naturally brings on an open conflict.

These conflicts are sometimes petty and insignificant, but they loom large in the eyes of the public, when the parties involved in them are men of rank or distinction. Thus, when we speak of war we are reminded not of petty scuffles but some military action of greater import and with more serious consequences.

Mr. Potter in his recent book on "The world of Nations" writes as follows:—

"War consists of general military action taken by one Government against another Government by land or sea, or in

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1. The writer is greatly indebted to Mahāvidvān R. Raghava Aiyangar and Professor Chikka Srinivasachariar of the Annamalai University for valuable suggestions while writing this article.

the air also in these latter years. It is not merely piracy or riot or rebellion or revolution; but war consists in general international hostilities with general objectives, not the special limited types of military action recently more familiar in the world." In discussing the causes of war he continues as follows:—

"No complete survey has ever been made of the causes of war. Desire for territory, either for its mineral or other wealth or population or for its value, desire for independence from imperialistic domination, commercial rivalry, these are causes which have led to war in modern times. Dynastic rivalries and religious differences were among the important causes of war in earlier times."

This art of warfare was an important subject of discussion in ancient Tamil works. *Tolkāṭṭiyam*, the earliest extant Tamil grammar, and *Tirukkuraḷ*, one of the earliest of Tamil classics, embody in them considerable information regarding war. While grammars in general confine themselves to orthography, Etymology and Syntax, books on Tamil grammar deal with Sociology, some aspects of Biology, Psychology, Politics etc. Kingship and war are discussed threadbare and we have very rich and valuable information unfolded to us in its pages.

The causes of war mentioned by them are manifold. In the first place, craving for power and desire for the expansion of territory must be mentioned. The following lines from *Puraṇāṇūṟu*<sup>1</sup>, one of the eight anthologies or collections of the Sangam period will bear out this statement.

The author tells us here that Cēralātaṇ who never fails to secure victory over his enemy's forces, desires to have his adversaries at his beck and call and feeling that the region under his sway is very small, wants to expand the same with intent to be the sole and undisputed enjoyer of his dominions and that he will not brook to be told that a certain region belongs both to him and to some others. Desire for territorial expansion to provide for the surplus population of the state by the acquisition of

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1. "வையத் காவலர் வழிமொழிந் தொழுகப்  
போகம் வேண்டிப் பொதுச்சொற் பொருஅன்  
இடஞ்சிறி தென்னு மூக்கஞ் தூப்ப  
ஒடுங்கா வள்ளத் தோம்பா லீகைக்  
கடந்தடு தானைச் சேர லாதனை

colonies abroad by open hostilities, if it is not to be had by peaceful persuasion, is seen in almost all the nations in the present day. Italy and Germany are instances in point. Many other passages from old Tamil works can be cited to illustrate this particular cause of war. In Kalittokai (68) we have the line

“பொதுமொழி பிறர்க்கின்றி முழுதானஞ் செல்வர்க்கு”<sup>1</sup>

and in Puraṇāṇūru (51) the line

“தண்டமிழ் பொதுவெனப் பொருஅன்போ ரெதிர்த்து”<sup>2</sup>.

In the same work a poet says, “It is nothing new for one man to defeat another and in turn to be defeated by him; it is in the very nature of human beings”<sup>3</sup>.

The next cause and the most important and ennobling one is perhaps the love of fame. Almost all kings and petty chiefs have been actuated by this dignified notion and the descriptions of fights carried on by such heroes are really very interesting. In Puraṇ (18) a poet sings<sup>4</sup>, “Having won the broad world by your own strenuous efforts and having planted firm your undying fame”; and again in the same stanza, “If you intend to stand unequalled as the sole and undisputed master of your realms or wish to establish your reputation”<sup>5</sup>.

The lines “with an ardent love to hunt after fame you prefer to be always in fighting camps”<sup>6</sup>, and “Having won over the

1. “To those affluent kings with full sovereignty shared by no other king or kings.”

2. Unable to put up with the words that the fertile Tamil land belongs both to him and to some others, he goes to fight.”

3. “ஒருவன் ஒருவினை யதெனும் தொலதனும்  
புதுவ தன்றிவ் வுலகத் தியற்கை”

(புறம். 76.)

4. “பாந்துபட்ட வியன் ஞாலம்  
தாளிற் றந்து தம்புகழ் நிறீஇ”

5. “ஞாலங் காவலர் தோள்வலி முருக்கி  
ஒருநீ யாகல் வேண்டினுஞ் சிறந்த  
நல்லிசை நிறுத்தல் வேண்டினும்”

6. “நல்லிசை வேட்டம் வேண்டி வெல்போர்ப்  
பாசறை யல்லது நீயொல் லாயே”

(புறம். 31.)



extensive world and set up firmly your rising fame<sup>1</sup> to be eulogised by your bards and minstrels," remind us of the love of fame that was embodied in the innermost hearts of these fighting princes. These kings and born fighters were prepared to concede to their enemies the lands and other properties they wrested from them, if they would but pay them tribute and beg of them to be allowed to retain their allowed possessions. So a learned bard sings of his patron thus: "you withhold yourself from punishing or chastising your foes, if they would but crouch under your feet."<sup>2</sup> The lines "However egregious the fault of your foes, you excuse them provided they bow before you and pay you tribute" as well as the lines "If they would only fall at my feet and pray, is it a great thing for me to offer them my kingdom? It is not so. I will give them even my life which I value most."<sup>3</sup> clearly inform us of the nobility and love of power and fame that characterised these sovereigns and chieftains of yore. The following lines of *Puranānūru*

“முரசு கெழு தானை நீவிர்  
மூவரு முற்றினும் பறம்பு கொளற்கரிதே

.....

ஆடினார் பாடினார் செவினே நாடுங் குன்று மொருங்கீ யும்மே”

are worth quoting in this connection. Kapilar the distinguished Śaṅgam poet, in addressing the three kings Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya, who were bent upon besieging the capital of his bosom friend, Pāri, a petty chieftain famed for his extreme and unbounded munificence, sings the above lines. They tell us “Even if you three in full possession of the forces that march to the beat of war-drums, lay siege to it, you cannot take Parambu; but if you would appear before him as women minstrels or bards, he would willingly part with his kingdom in your favour.” From

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1. “வியலரும் பண்பின் மாநிலங் கடந்து  
புலவ சேத்த வோங்கு புகழ் நிரீஇ” (பதிற். 2, 10.)
  2. “பெரியதப் புநராயினும் பகைவர்  
பணிந்து திறைபகரக் கொள்ளுநரையாதவின்” (பதிற். 27.)
  3. “மெல்லவந்தெ னல்லடி பொருந்தி  
யீயென விசக்குவ ராயிற் சேருடை  
முரசுகெழு தாயத் தரசோ தஞ்சம்  
இன்னுயிராயினுங் கொடுக்குவன்” (புறம், 14.)

the lines quoted above we clearly see that the capture and subjugation of an enemy's kingdom or whatever belonged to him was not after all the real objective of an invader but only pure and undying martial fame which would outlive him. The extreme consideration for the captured which is expressed by the Tamil word “*ஊராண்மை*” also suggests the above object of an invading monarch.

The next cause of war is the disparaging talk indulged in by the adversary. Students of Tamil classics and South Indian history are aware of the triumphant march of Ceraṇ Śeṅguṭṭuvan, the Cera ruler against the princes Kanaka and Vijaya of Central India, because the two kings spoke of him in derogatory terms. Any refractory king who failed or refused to obey was attacked and subdued. In one of the stanzas of *Puraṇānūru*, a splendid repository of ancient ideals social, literary and political, we read of a king speaking in the following terms: “Those princes who swelled with rage and and who spoke ill of me as young”<sup>1</sup> and also “Those valiant fighters who rise uproariously parading as dignified and great, despising me their opponent as young and who are thirsting after the huge spoils of war, in case they win over me.”<sup>2</sup> These lines together with the line “Suppressing or subjugating the princes who defy your sovereignty”<sup>3</sup>, bear out the fact that the kings promptly crushed disobedience and defiance of every kind.

Next, the refusal to give girls in marriage on the demand of kings and chiefs, was yet another cause of war. The Pāṇḍya fought with Pāri a local chieftain, because the latter refused the hand of his daughter in marriage to him. This kind of refusal and the consequent strife are depicted as a rule in the “*Kalambakam*” one of the ninety-six varieties of minor *prabandhams* in Tamil literature. Among the many themes that go to constitute this kind of literary work, we come across one which

1. “இளைய னிவனென வுளையக் கூறிப்

படுமணி யிரட்டும்.....

சிறுசொற் சொல்லிய சினங்கெழு வேந்தரை” (புறம். 72.)

2. “சிலைத் தெழுந்து

விழுமியம் பெரியம் யாமே நம்மிற்

பொருநனு மினையன் கொண்டியும் பெரிதென

என்னி வந்த வம்ப மள்ளர்” (புறம். 78.)

3. “அடக்கா மன்னரை யடக்கும்”

(புறம். 200.)

goes by the name of “மறம்”. A messenger deputed by his king or chief approaches a marava, a warlike hero of the Tamil land, to negotiate and bring about an alliance between his master and the daughter of the marava chief. The latter with all the traditional pride of the warlike clan of which he is a distinguished descendant refuses the hand of his daughter, sternly rebuking the messenger at the same time. This refusal brings about a conflict.

Not only this. Sometimes the jealousy born of the greatness or fame of an adversary, was also an inducement to wage war. The three kings of Tamiḻakam above referred to plotted against the life of Pāri, merely because the latter who was after all a petty chieftain, acquired very great renown as a benign ruler and munificent giver.

This apart, religious and commercial rivalry was also another factor in the hostilities in ancient times. But such wars were very rare and we hear only very occasionally of religious persecutions or massacres undertaken by bigoted rulers.

These, then, are some of the important reasons for war. The *Puraṭṭaiyaḻ* of *Tolkāppiyam*, *Puraṭṭoruḻveṇbāmālai* and the *Tirukkuraḻ* give us much valuable information respecting the various aspects of warfare in the ancient Tamil land. The king was more or less considered as having a divine right; but though a king, by birthright or choice he was bound by the opinions or wishes of the popular assembly. Autocrats and bad rulers there had been, and we have good many warnings administered to such people by well-meaning bards. The kingship was deemed a sacred institution and the tradition and Śāstras assert that kings were created by Lord Brahmā to remove the turmoil caused by mutual dissensions and establish order and peace. In the oldest Tamil grammars we have a sub-division known as “புவை நிலை” (*Pūvai nilai*), which likens the king to Lord Viṣṇu, the protector of this Universe. “The king of Earth is Lord Viṣṇu himself”,<sup>1</sup> exclaim the sacred works. His responsibilities were many and various. The sacred *Kuraḻ* deals elaborately with his rights and duties, laying special stress on his army, subjects, wealth, ministers, friends and frontier-guards, the six indispensable aṅgas (limbs) of the body-politic. The *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Puraṭṭoruḻveṇbāmālai* depict war in all its varied

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1. नाविष्णुः प्रथ्वीपतिः

aspects. The *Purattinaiyiyal* refers to the kinds of war operations which are chiefly divided into *Veṭci*, *Vañci*, *Uṭṭai*, *Tumbai*, and *Vāhai*. An old Tamil stanza gives us in a nut-shell the significance of wearing these wreaths. Cattle-raiding is represented by the *Veṭci*, while to recover the same is represented by *Karandai*. Invading the adversary's realm is *Vañci*, and the defence of it is *Kāñci*. Defence of the rampart is *Nocci*, while the assault of the same is *Uṭṭai* (உழிஞை). Actual fighting in the field of battle is *Tumbai*, and victory therein is announced by wearing the *Vāhai* wreath.<sup>1</sup> *Tolkāppiyaṇṇū*, however, mentions only the five main divisions above quoted<sup>2</sup> classifying *karandai*, *Kāñci*, *Nocci*, and other sub-themes as part of the main ones.

These pertinent divisions of *Puram* or *tiṇais* as they are termed are again sub-divided into *turais* or conventional themes and they have been elaborately dealt with by the Tamil grammarians. All that takes place before, during and after the actual military operations are depicted therein, which will lead one to understand the conception of war in that remote period in the history of South India.

#### *The Fortifications.*

It has been already observed that battlements and good and secure fortifications are absolutely necessary for the capital city. Apart from the high ramparts and the deep moats round a capital city, kingdoms had a reserve forest, sea or big lake and impenetrable jungles surrounding them. A small forest growth of newly planted trees which was found next to the walls of the city on either side of the ditch or moat was one of the defences of a city. While the deep moat full of water served as what is known as the “*ṇīraṇṇ*” or literally the water-fort, the

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1. “வெட்சி நிரைகவர்தல் மீட்டல் கரந்தையாம்  
உட்கார்மேற் செல்வது வஞ்சியாம்—உட்கா  
தெதிருன்றல் காஞ்சி யெயில்காத்த னெச்சி  
யதுவனைத்த லாகு முழினைஞ—யதிரப்  
பொருவது தம்பையாம் போர்க்களத்து மிக்கார்  
செருவென் றதுவாகை யாம்.
  2. “நிலவரை யிறந்த குண்டுகண் ணகழி;  
வான்றோய் வன்ன புரிசை விசம்பின்  
மீன்பூத் தன்ன வருவ ஞாயிற்  
கதிர்நுழை கல்லா மரம்பயில் கடியினை  
அருங்குறும் புடுத்த கானப் பேரெயில்”

(புறம். 21.)

extensive waste lands and the forest growths served as “*த*” and “*காட்டரண்*” respectively. On the fort-walls were fixed various devices and machines to assist in defeating and pushing back the assault of the enemy and his forces. The following description of “*Kāṇappēreyil*” is worth mentioning here.

“*Kāṇappērcyil* whose deep moat extends even beyond the Earth-limits, whose lofty battlements seem to kiss the heavenly border, the parts of whose fortress shine like the constellations in the sky and whose guarded thickets are studded so closely with trees as not to let in even the sun’s rays.”

These lines refer to the height and the depth of the rampart and the moats respectively, the dense and impenetrable nature of the protecting forest and the surrounding positions occupied by minor chiefs owing allegiance to the king. Again the lines “The fort-walls smeared with mustard paste thereby preventing the war-like enemy from scaling, and full of traps in the form of birds, stones, slings, bows etc.”<sup>1</sup> give us a glimpse of the various devices fixed in the ramparts. In an ancient work of the same period we hear of a machine capable of killing hundred persons at one stroke, known as “*slayer of hundreds*” (*நூற்றுவரைக் கொல்லி*). *Kural*, *Śukranīti* and *Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra* give us elaborate details as to the nature and form of these fort-walls and moats. The following faithful description, from the mighty pen of *Ilāṅkōvaṭṭakal*, of the fort of the Pāṇḍyan capital is worth citing in this connection. The walls are said to possess the following features<sup>2</sup> :—

1. “மறனுடை மறவர்க் கேற விடனின்றி  
நெய்யொ டையவி யப்பியெவ் வாடி  
மெந்திரப் பறவை யியற்றினர் நிறீடுக்  
கல்லுங் கவணுங் கடுவீசைப் பொறியும்  
வில்லுங் கணையும் பலபடப் பரப்பிப்  
பந்தும் பாவையும் பசிவாரிப் புட்டிலும்  
என்றிவை பலவும்”

(தொல். புறத். பக். 209.)

2. “மினையுங் கிடங்கும் வளைவிற் பொறியுங்  
கருவிர லாகமும் கல்லுமிழ் கவணும்  
பரிவுறு வெந்நெயும் பாகடு குழிசியுங்  
காயபொன் னுலையுங் கல்லிடு கூடையுந்  
தூண்டிலுந் தொடக்கு மாண்டலை யடுப்புங்  
கவையுங் கழுவும் புதையும் புழையும்

“The fort walls with entrances decorated with the victorious banners and encircled by the guardian forest and possessing the bow-trap which will automatically shoot forth arrows, the mechanism in the form of a baboon inflicting a deadly bite on those that draw near it, the stone-emitting slings, boiling cauldrons spattering ghee on all sides, huge metal pots for melting iron, baskets to hold sling-stones, imitation angling rods to catch hold of men who came close to them, chains that will grip one’s neck and twist it even as the impaling stick, the decoy bird in the shape of a man’s head, which when caused to fly, will strike the adversary’s head, the iron fork which will hurl down people climbing up the trenches, impaling sticks, quivers, small apertures to stock arrows or missiles pointed and sharp spikes that will pierce through the bodies of men who dare to scale the walls, the artificial king-fisher which will blind the eyes of the enemy, the contrivance in the form of a boar which will tear the bodies of men with its strong and pointed horns, bamboo sticks for belabouring people, strong wooden beams hung on the backs of entrance doors as a sort of protection for them, javelins, small spears and ever so many devices in the form of elephants, serpents, eagles, tigers, rams and wheels.” Thus we see the elaborate care with which these fort-walls were constructed which will go a great way to confirm what I have already said, that, as early as the 1st century A.D. and perhaps even earlier, the Tamilians had acquired considerable knowledge of the art of warfare, modes of defence, etc.

### *The Army Corps.*

The army was divided into four bodies, chariots, elephants, horses and infantry. Frequent mention is made of these four divisions and we meet in the old classics detailed descriptions of them and their extraordinary prowess.

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ஐயவித் துலாமுக் கைபெய ருசியுஞ்  
சென்றெறி சரலும் பன்றியும் பணையு  
மெழுவுஞ் சீப்பு முழுவிறற் கணையமும்  
கோலுக் குந்தமும் வேலும் பிறவும்  
ஞாயிலுஞ் சிறந்து நாட்கொடி துடங்கும்  
வாயில்”

(சிலப், 15, 207-17).

“The elephant, with the long trunk, which having its tusk as its weapon, broke open the door of the bastion and which had on its sides bells tied on to a rope”.<sup>1</sup> “The small eyed elephant with its white tusk, the edge of which had been rendered less sharp or acule, because its metal covering broke into two in a dash against the rampart gate.”<sup>2</sup>

“Swift horses trained in fight.”<sup>3</sup>

“Your elephants are uncontrollable, elephants which dash themselves upon the enemy’s fort-walls, till their tusks are blunted.”<sup>4</sup>

“Fleet-footed horses.”<sup>5</sup>

“Tall and stalwart elephants, chariots and steeds.”<sup>6</sup>

“Kings with stallions as fleet-footed as the raging wind, with chariots floating high banners, with the army legion as vast as the sea and with elephants capable of charging even hills and rocks.”<sup>7</sup> “Murderous elephants swelling with extreme fury, dignified

1. “எயிறு படையாக வெயிற்கத விடாஅக்  
கயிறுபிணிக் கொண்ட கவிழ்மணி மருங்கிற்  
பெருங்கை யானை”  
(புறம். 3.)
2. “கடிமதிற் கதவம் பாய்தலிற் றொடிபிளந்து  
துதிமுக மழுதிய மண்ணை வெண் கோட்டுச்  
சிறுகண் யானை”  
(அகம். 24.)
3. “வினை மாட்சிய விரை புரவியொடு”  
(புறம். 16.)
4. “துதிமுக மழுக்க மண்டி யொன்றார்  
கடிமதில் பரயுநின் களிநடங் கலவே”  
(புறம். 31.)
5. “கதழ் பரிய கலிமாவும்”  
(புறம். 55.)
6. “நெடுநல் யானையுந் தேரு மாவும்”  
(Ibid. 72.)
7. “வளிகடட் தன்ன வாஅச்செல விவுளியொடு  
கொடுதுடங்கு மிசைய தேரின ரொளுஅக்  
கால்கண் டன்ன வொண்படைத் தானையொடு  
மலைமாறு மலைக்குங் களிற்றின ரொளுஅ”  
(Ibid. 197.)

steeds that are fleet-footed, tall chariots with lofty banners on them, and valiant soldiers with undaunted heart.”<sup>1</sup>

The above quotations tell us of the four divisions of the military equipments of the ancient Tamils. Individual descriptions and pen-portraits of the excellent prowess exhibited by the elephants, horses etc. are not wanting. Under the captions or headings “Elephant’s prowess.”<sup>2</sup> “Horse’s prowess”<sup>3</sup>, we have very valuable and interesting information handed down to us. The following descriptions occurring in ‘Muttollāyiram,’ a rare work available only in parts, describing the glory and valour of the three eminent kings of Tamiḷakam, bear out the above statement.

“The elephant of Killi whose arm is as strong as the rock, felt shy to face its mate, as its tusk had been broken by its dash on the rampart and as its nails were worn out by treading on the diadems of kings.”<sup>4</sup> “By treading on the diadems of kings and by frequent kicks at their breast ornaments, the horses’ hoofs shone like the touch-shone of gold<sup>5</sup>”. Instances like these can be multiplied to illustrate the prowess or skill displayed by these trained animals.

#### Weapons.

Bows, arrows, javelins, swords, scimitars, and the trident were the main war weapons. The armour either of iron or

1. “கடுஞ் சினத்த கொல்களிறுங்  
கதழ்பரிய கலிமாவும்  
நெடுங்கொடிய நிமிர்தேரு  
நெஞ்சுடைய புகன்மறவரும்”

(புறம். 55.)

2. யானை மறம்
3. குதிரை மறம்
4. “கொடிமதிற் சாய்ந்திற்ற கோடு மரசர்  
முடியிடறித் தேய்ந்த நகமும் - பிடிமுன்பு  
பொல்லாமை காணிப் புறங்கடை நின்றதே  
கல்லார்தோட் கிள்ளி களிறு”

(முத்தொள்ளாயிரம்.)

5. “மாவளவன்—காலியன்மா  
மன்னர் முடியுதைத்து மார்பகத்துப் பூணுழக்கிப்  
பொன்னுரைகற் போன்ற குளம்பு”

(பெருந்தொகை. 528.)



leather was invariably worn. The shield or kēḍayam was also in vogue. Glittering swords were deposited in metal or leather sheaths or scabbards. The lines

“கூணை<sup>1</sup> பொருது கவிவண் கையாற்  
கண்ணொளிர் வளுஉம் கவின்காபத்து.”<sup>2</sup>  
“மாண்வினைச் சாப மார்புற வாங்கி  
<sup>3</sup>ஞாண்பொர விளங்கிய வலிகெழு தடக்கை.”

(பதிற். 90.)

4“கூர்துனை வேலு மின்னின் விளங்கும்.”

(புறம். 42.)

“விளங்குபொன் னெறிந்த நலங்கிளர் பலகை<sup>5</sup>யொடு  
நிழல்படு நெடுவே லேந்தி.”  
“மழை யுருவின தோல்<sup>6</sup> பாப்பி.”

and similar ones will give an idea of the weapons both offensive and defensive employed in wars in olden times.

#### *Fairness in the Conduct of War.*

Although wars of the biggest magnitude were waged by the kings in the ancient Tamil land, fairness and consideration were noticeable to some extent. Attention has been already drawn to the generosity shown by the victor in restoring the lands and other belongings to the vanquished provided the latter submitted.

Even at the outset the invader announces by beat of tom-tom his intention to advance on the capital. He announces<sup>7</sup> that he is going to shoot forth his arrows and directs cows, peace-loving Brahmans, women, invalids, those who have not brought forth sons to discharge their duties to their manes or deceased

1. Arrow.
2. Bow.
3. Bow-string.
4. Spear, or javelin.
5. Metal shield.
6. Leather shield.
7. “ஆவு மானியற் பார்ப்பன மக்களும்  
பெண்டிரும் பிணியுடை யீரும்  
தென்புலம் வாழ்நர்க் கருங்கட னிறுக்கும்  
பொன்போற் புதல்வர்ப் பெரு தீரும்  
எம்மம்பு கடிவிடுதம் நும்மாண் சேர்மினென  
அறத்தாறு துவலும் பூட்கை.”

(புறம். 9.)

ancestors, to get under shelter; for a good reign it is, which guarantees the lives of all these. Closely connected with this is the raiding of the enemy's cattle. If at this first admonition the enemy does not provide a shelter for his cows, the on-coming invader takes upon himself this solemn duty. Kings who are bent on protecting those under their charge will often be actuated by charitable feelings of this sort.<sup>1</sup> The line "valorous princes who wage only righteous wars"<sup>2</sup> explains this. In Sūtram 10 of the Puṛaṭṭinaiyiyal of Tolkāppiyam, the commentator Nacčinārkiṇiyar wishes to say<sup>3</sup> that a noble and benign rule consists in not killing or fighting without giving due warning the following persons, *viz.* feeble-hearted men, issueless persons, men with no hair on their heads, men who retreat, men bearing names of women, men who are not equals in valour, etc. The sub-division known as "தழிஞ்சி"<sup>4</sup> in Puṛapporuḷ also refers to such acts when the captor does not advance on his enemy, when he is unaided, when he shows a tendency to retreat and when he is wounded or bruised on his back. Here I may remind the reader of the incident that took place in the very first encounter between Rāma and Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa stands deserted and unaided. Rāma, if he had willed, could have easily done away with him. But the virtuous and righteous hero advised him to go back to his capital and return for battle the next day well-equipped. He thus gave him time to consider, well-hoping that better sense might prevail. Another good aspect of the ancient wars is that we hear of no night engagements.

1. "மன்னுயிர் காக்கும் மன்புடை வேந்தற்கு

மறத்துறையினும் அறமே நிகழும்."

(தொல். புறத். நச். உரை.)

2. "அறத்தின் மண்டிய மறப்போர் வேந்தர்."

3. "சிறப்புடை அரசியலாவன, மடிந்த உள்ளத் தோனையும், மகப் பெறு தோனையும், மயிர்குலைத் தோனையும், அடிபிறக்கிட்டோனையும், பெண் பெயரோனையும், படையிழந்தோனையும், ஒத்தபடையெடா தோனையும் பிறவும் இத்தன்மை யுடையோனையும் கொல்லாது விடுதலும் கூறிப் பொருதலும் முதலியனவாம்."

(தொல். புறத். 10, நச். உரை.)

4. "அழிஞ்சுநர் புறக்கொடை யயில்வா னோச்சாக்

கழிதறு கண்மை காதலித் துரைத்தன்று."

*The oaths taken by the kings.*

That the kings of the land were endowed with extra-ordinary military skill and physical strength, is borne out by the fine descriptions given of them by able Sangam bards and eulogists. Their determination either to win or die in the field and their solemn oaths will spur or goad to action even the worst coward. A king who was also a poet says<sup>1</sup> :

“Endowed with an army infuriated like the lion and with a daring heart, the adversaries have combined against me. If I do not see that they retreat before me with all their chariots and well-trained soldiers moping and pining, let me get myself separated from this, my beloved partner in life, let me be considered as having failed to impart justice by putting an unworthy person over an assembly full of men who never swerve from the sacred path of virtue.” Another king says<sup>2</sup> : “Sweet things have we taken in to-day. But, unless we win over the enemy’s fortwalls, we shall not partake of any meal to-morrow.” In these lines we see the solemn determination and noble vows of the invaders.

*Some preliminaries of battle.*

Before a king actually started on a campaign, some preliminaries were gone through. He consulted the ‘purohit’ for fixing the proper day and the hour for beginning his operations. He used to send his royal parasol and his sword in advance at the hour or muhūrtam fixed. Consultation of omens indicated by

1. “மடங்கலிற் சினேஇ மடங்கா வள்ளத்  
தடங்காத் தானே வேர்த் ருடங்கியைந்  
தென்னெடு பொருது மென்ப வவரை  
ஆரம லலறத் தாக்கித் தேரோ  
டவர்ப்புறங் காணே னுயிற் சிறந்த  
பேரம ருண்க ணிவளினும் பிரிக  
அறனிலை திரியா வன்பி னவையத்துத்  
திறனி லொருவினை நாட்டி முறைதிரிந்து  
மெலிகொல் செய்தே னாகு.”

(புறம். 71.)

2. “இன்றினிது நுகர்ந்தன மாயினுளை  
மண்புனை யிஞ்சி மதில்கடந் தல்ல  
துண்குவ மல்லேம் புகர்வெனக் கூறிக்  
கண்ணி கண்ணிய வயவர் பெருமகன்.”

(பதிற். 6, 8.)

birds was also had. Even if that was not done the warriors were not to tarry and mark time. We hear the soldiers exclaim<sup>1</sup>: "As the king has commanded us to advance without consulting the auspicious day or caring for the omens of birds, we too shall not stop but proceed to the battlefield to fight unto death." Here we see the bold determination of the soldiers to fight and die in the thick of the fight, without waiting for the indication of the auguries or omens as their king himself has ignored them. These bold men go by the name of "சாவேறு". This term occurs frequently in the South Indian Inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries and A.D. wherein we meet with the line "சாவேறெல்லாத் தனிவிசும்பேற்ற."

Another duty discharged by the kings before offering battle was the serving of rich and sumptuous meals to the soldiers. The worship of Korravai or the war deity was another important event. The propitiation of the goddess appears strange. Valiant soldiers born of the military caste offer their heads in sacrifice at the altar of Korravai, praying for the victory of their lord in the campaign to follow. Old books make mention of the excellent valour and prowess that characterised these warriors. The Kalingattupparani a war ballad of the 12th century A.D. gives us a thrilling picture of the reckless valour of these soldiers. There was no mercenary army in those days. The warriors were all very much devoted to their sovereign and were prepared to risk their valuable lives in battle. The above works, while they abound in their exploits, inform us also of the special existence of warlike families or clans in that remote period. They were known as "மூதிந்ருடி"; and "மூதின்முல்லை" the martial spirit of the ladies of the warlike clan is one of the minor themes of Purattinaiyiyal (புறத்திணையியல்). The words of the poet that those warriors were born with sword in hand and rose into prominence when there existed only rocks and when mud or sand had not come into existence, show their high antiquity. In those days women were largely responsible for the stimulation of valour in their offspring.

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1. "நாளும் புள்ளுங் கேளா ஆக்கமொ  
டெங்கொ னேயின னாகலின்"  
"உட்பகை யொருதிறம் பட்டெனப் புட்பகைத்  
கேவா னாகலிற் சாவேம் யாமென"
  2. "கற்றோன்றி மண்டோன்றாக் காலத்தே வானோடு  
முற்றோன்றி மூத்த குடி"

Here is a pen-picture of the hero born of such a warlike family extracted from Perumpāṇāruppaṭai, one of Pattuppāṭṭu of the Sangam period: "The hero<sup>1</sup> with a scanty beard resembling the tiger's cub, who came of the valiant people who live solely by their swords and highway robberies and who was born of the valorous woman who, even when she was big with child, never got agitated or worried when an elephant attacked her or a serpent passed over her or when a terrific peal of thunder made a tremendous crash."

This gives us an impression of the types of heroic mothers and their equally heroic offspring in that remote period. Many an instance may be multiplied to illustrate this statement. A stanza in Purapporuḷṇbāmālai tells us as follows:—

<sup>2</sup>"She will not brook to hear that the enemy had advanced towards the city. She at once pulled up her child sucking her breast, gave him the spear setting right the bent or curve in it, showed him the hero-stones planted in memory of his ancestors and despatched him straight to the thick of the fight. Similarly another stanza in Puram has the following description:—"The mother<sup>3</sup> born of the heroic line heard that her son

1. "யானை தாக்கினு மரவுமேற் செலினும்  
நீன்ற விசம்பின் வல்லேறு சிலைப்பினும்  
சூன்மகண் மாரு மறம்பூண் வாழ்க்கை  
வலிக்கூட் டுண்ணும் வாட்குடிப் பிறந்த  
புவிப்போத் தன்ன புல்லண்ற் காளை"

(பெரும்பாண்.)

2. "வந்தபடை நோனான் வாயின் முலைபறித்து  
வெந்திற லெஃக மிறைக்கொளீஇ...முந்தை  
முதல்வர்கற் றுன்காட்டி மூதின் மடவாள்  
புதல்வனைச் செல்கென்றான் போர்க்கு"

(பு. வெ. மா.)

3. "நரம்பெழுந் துலறிய நிரம்பா மென்றோள்  
முளரி மருங்கின் முகியோள் சிறுவன்  
படையழிந்து மாறின னென்றுபலர் கூற  
மண்டமர்க் குடைந்தன ஞாபி னுண்டவன்  
முலையறுத் துடுவன் யானெனச் சினைஇக்  
கொண்ட வானொடு படுபிணம் பெயராச்  
செங்களந் துழுவோள் சிதைந்துவே ருகிய  
படுமகன் கிடக்கை காணுஉ  
சுன்ற ஞான்றினும் பெரிதுவந் தனளே"

(புறம். 278.)

fled away from the fight. Straight she took a sword in hand and exclaiming that in case her son had actually retreated in the fights she would chop off her breasts that suckled him, proceeded to the field of battle and after a strenuous search found to her surprise the body of her beloved son torn asunder in twain. She was overcome with joy and her rapture was greater than it was when she gave him birth". Another poet writes as follows:—"What a bold and sturdy resolve. It does become a woman born of the heroic line. Her brother vanquished an elephant and died in a previous fight. Her husband died recently while pushing through the scerried ranks of his enemy's forces. To-day, hearing the war-drum she gave her only son the javelin, attired him neatly, dressed his hair and sent him willingly to the war-front".

When the poetess Avvaiyār was asked by Atiyamāṇ a chieftain, whether there were warriors in her parts, she is said to have replied as follows:—"Young warriors as bold as the serpent that fears not the striking rod, are in abundance and there chief too is there, who will start for the battle even on hearing the sound caused by the play of the wind on the trumpet that hangs in the common, believing that the signal for the march to battle has been given." Readers of history are likely to remember the classic lines of Cēramāṇ Peruñcēralāṭaṇ when he was incarcerated by his adversary Kocceṇkaṇaṇ. The lines "குழவி யிறப்பினு மூன்றடி பிறப்பினு, மாளன் றென்று வாளிற் தப்பார்" remind us that it was customary among the warlike clans in those days whenever a child died or even when

1.

"கடி திவடுணிவே

மூதின் மகளி ராத நகுமே  
 மேனா னுற்ற செருவிற் கிடவன்னை  
 யானை யெறிந்து களத்தொழிந் தனனே  
 நெருந லுற்ற செருவிற் கிவன்கொழுநன்  
 பெருநிரை விலங்கி யாண்டுப்பட்டனனே  
 இன்றும், செருப்பறை கேட்டு விருப்புற்று மயங்கி  
 வேல்கைக் கொடுத்து வெளிது விரித்துடஇப்  
 பாறுமயிர்க் குடுமி யெண்ணெய் நீவி  
 ஒருமக னல்ல தில்லோள்  
 செருமுக நோக்கிச் செல்கென விடுமே"

(புறம். 279.)

2. "எறிகோ லஞ்சா வாவி னன்ன

an unripe or undeveloped foetus came out from the womb, to cut it with a sword, as they believed that then only that soul will attain vīrasvarga or the heaven of the brave and the valiant.<sup>1</sup> They thought that it was a disgrace for one who came of a warlike family to die anywhere other than in the battle-field. Indian books tell us of the four castes in India from times immemorial and of Kṣātriyas who were solely entrusted with the protection and the guardianship of the land. We all know how, in the field of Kurukṣetra, Lord Kṛṣṇa<sup>3</sup> persuaded Arjuna to take to fight, laying special stress on the sacred duty of one born a Kṣātriya and reminding him of the impossibility of entering the beautiful heaven otherwise. He impressed on him that<sup>4</sup> one's duty or Dharma however ill-practised, was a thousand times better than that of another however well-kept and cherished. To die on the field of battle fighting like a true Kṣātriya was a most ennobling act. A genuine warrior used to pride himself on the number of wounds inflicted by the enemy on his body and to reckon any day that did not give him such a wound as but an ill-spent day.<sup>5</sup> The conception of vīrasvarga as held by these warriors and descriptions of how the heavenly maids used to welcome the heroes who fell in battle, afford interesting though melancholy reading.

சிறுவர் மள்ளரு முளரே யதாஅன்று  
பொதுவிற் றாங்கும் விசியுறு தண்ணுமை  
வளிபொரு தெண்கண் கேட்பின்  
அதபோ ரென்னு மென்னையு முளனே”

(புறம். 74.)

3. யஹுயயா வொவவநம் ஸம-ஆராஸிவாவூதல் ।  
சய வெசு கவிசிம் யஜ்ஞம் ஸம்-தாஸிம் ந கரிஷ்யஸி ॥  
தகஃ ஸுயஜ்ஞம் கீதிம் உ ஹிஸிவா வாவஸிவாவூஸி ।
4. ஸ்ரேயாநு ஸுயெஸிஸி-விமூணஃ வராயஸி-காசு  
ஸுந-ஷி-தாசு ।  
ஸுயெஸி-நியநம் ஸ்ரேயஸு வராயெஸி-ஹாவஹஃ ॥
5. “விமுப்புண் படாதநா ஸெவ்வாம் வழுக்கினுள்  
வைக்குந்தன் னான யெதேது”

(குறள், 776.)

In one of the stanzas in *Puraṇānūru* we meet with the following idea—"1Blessed are your enemies, though they could not withstand your onslaughts, they now occupy the Heaven of the Brave" and in another the following words of praise. "2Let your fame shine forth. By your prowess in the field of action, the winkless gods who adorn themselves with the unfading flowers of Heaven, have got now a good number of guests." These lines remind us of the heroic fight to the finish of warriors who attain the "*vīrasvarga*" by their valour.

Akin to and closely allied to this conception is the notion of "3Fasting unto death." The ceremony consists in the observer proceeding in the northern direction and fixing himself firmly in a place without food or drink and with a sword in hand. *Puṛam* 65 tells us of a *Cēramāṇ* who preferred this fast to a life of disgrace and ignominy brought about by his being wounded on the back in his encounter with a *Cōḷa* king (and consequently becoming liable to be mistaken for a craven).

*4Cutting or felling the guardian tree.*

This is one of the very first acts indulged in by the on-coming invader. Every king or chieftain had his favourite guardian tree, the protection of which was a sacred duty enjoined on him. To allow the guardian tree to be cut off by the enemy was deemed a mark of humiliation and a sign of defeat or dis-

1. "நோற் றோர் மன்ற நின் பகைவர் நின்னொடு  
மாற்ற ரென்னும் பெயர்பெற்  
ருற்ற ராயினு மாண்டுவாழ் வோரே"

(புறம். 26.)

2. "வாடாப் பூவி னிமையா நாட்டத்து  
நாற்ற வுணர்வி னோரு மாற்ற  
அரும்பெற லுலக நிறைய  
வருந்துபெற் றனராற் பொலிகதும் புகழே"

(புறம். 62.)

3. வடக்கிருத்தல் அல்லது  
வான் வடக்கிருத்தல்.

4. கடிமார்த்தடிதல்.

5. "பலர்மொசின் தோம்பிய திரள்பூங் கடம்பின்  
கடியுடை முழுமுத றுமிய வேளய்  
வென்றெறி முழங்குபனை செய்த வெல்போர்."

(பதிற். 2, 1.)



comfiture. A number of expert warriors used to keep close guard over it; and the cutting of it was considered a notable achievement on the part of the enemy. In Patirruppattu we have the following:—

“The successful fight announced by the victory drum after uprooting the beautiful and well developed kadamba tree which was closely guarded by a number of warriors.” Again in the same work the poet writes to say.—<sup>1</sup>“Oh wrathful prince who cut off root and branch the Kadamba tree, killing with your sword the skilled soldiers that kept guard over them.” Again the lines—<sup>2</sup>“The victorious war drum announcing the victory by cutting off the Kadamba tree after crossing the wide sea” and the lines—<sup>3</sup>“Oh! valiant prince! full of wrath, who cut off the Kadamba tree after advancing boldly against the enemy, crossing the sea” etc. inform us of the naval warfare carried on by the Tamilians in boats and ships driven by the gale. The frequent references to the Kadamba tree suggest that the adversaries might have been the Kadamba line of kings.

#### *Civil wars.*

Civil wars or fights between groups of the same community, were also in vogue in the ancient Tamil land. The poets and bards played no small and insignificant part in these struggles. Inciting the one or pacifying the other was in their hands. They were held in high esteem by the rulers who prized their eulogistic verses above everything else. One king swears by his life and says that, if he fails to overcome his adversary, he shall go unsung and unhonoured by his court bard, Māṅguḍimarutaṇār. Secure of such confidence and royal support,

1. “வயவர் வீழ வராளின் மயக்கி  
யிடங்கவர் கடும்பி னரசுதலை பணிப்பக்  
கடம்பமுத நடிந்த கடுஞ்சின வேந்தே.”

(பதிற். 2, 2.)

2. “துளங்குபிசி ருடைய மாக்கட னீக்கிக்  
கடம்பறித் தியற்றிய வலம்படு வியன்பனை.”

(Ibid, 2, 7.)

3. “இருமுந்நீர்த் துருத்தியுள்  
முரணியோர்த் தலைச்சென்று  
கடம்பமுத நடிந்த கடுஞ்சின டுண்ப.”

some unscrupulous bards played one party against another. But in the main, these bards held positions of high trust and were often instrumental in warding off unnecessary blood-shed. A poet addresses two rival princes of the same line bent on fighting with each other in the following terms—"You wear neither the palmyra flower wreath nor the margosa wreath. Both of you wear one and the same Ātti wreath (Puram. 45). Defeat of either tantamounts to the defeat of your line. Neither is victory possible for both of you. Hence this does not become your noble line. This will rouse the titter and ridicule of your rival kings."<sup>1</sup>

From this we can realise the important role played by the poet-bard. Many succeeded in putting an end to impending conflicts. Stanzas 46 and 58 of Puranānūru are illustrative of this feature. Some poets stimulated by their poems the military ardour of their patrons and thereby roused hostilities. A bard addresses his patron as the lord of warriors and asks him: 2 "Who is there to stand against you when once you set foot on the field of battle." 3 Another bard prays for the long life not only of his patron but also of his adversaries in fight because the latter are likely to give his patron lord ample scope for the exhibition of his military skill.

1. "இரும்பனை வெண்டோடு மலைந்தோ னல்லன்  
கடுஞ்சினை வேம்பின் நெரியலோ னல்லன்  
நின்ன கண்ணியு மார்மிடைந் தன்றே  
பொருவோன் கண்ணியு மார்மிடைந் தன்றே  
ஒருவீர் தோற்பினுந் தோற்பதுங் குடியே  
இருவீர் வேற வியற்கையு மன்றே, அதனாற்  
குடிப்பொரு ளன்றுதுஞ் செய்தி கொடித்தேந்  
தும்மோ ரன்ன வேந்தர்க்கு  
மெய்மலி யுவகை செய்யுமில் விகலே."

(புறம். 45.)

2. "மழவர்பெரும  
இருநில மண்கொண்டு சிலைக்கும்  
பொருநரு முளரோ நீகளம் புகினே."

(புறம். 90.)

3. "வன்புல நாடன் மாவண் பிட்டன்  
ஆரமர் கடக்கும் வேலும் மவனிறை  
மாவன் வீகைக் கோதையும்  
மாறுகொண் மன்னரும் வாழியர் நெடிதே."

(புறம். 172.)

*Some noteworthy events in war.*

The fight in and around the ramparts was always a very severe and trying one. Huge ladders were laid on the sides of the walls and both parties fought standing on the ladders. When the ramparts gave way the warriors dived into the moat and continued to fight. The self-sacrifice of a hero for his patron lord was a common occurrence. The soldier standing firm even when some of his limbs got broken or damaged fighting strenuously unto death with the rest of his limbs, was a ghastly sight. It was also customary to take women to the battle-field, sometimes to fight but mainly for nursing.

The following lines of *Puranānūru*

“இன்னகை மகளிர் வேளம்பு புண்ணேற்  
றுன்னுதல் கடிந்த தொடாஅக் காஞ்சியும்”  
“தீங்கனி யிரவமொடு வேம்புமனைச் செரீஇ  
வாங்குமருப் பியாழொடு பல்லியங் கறங்கப்  
பையப் பெயர்த்து மைவிழு திழுதி  
பையவி சிதறி யாம்ப லூதி  
யிசைமணி யெறிந்து காஞ்சி பாடி  
நெடுநகர் வரைப்பிற் கடிநறை புகைஇந்  
காக்கம் வம்மோ காதலந் தோழி  
வேந்தறு விழுமந் தாங்கிய  
பூம்பொறி யுடைய நெடுந்தகை புண்ணே.”

(புறம். 281.)

suggest to us the presence of some sorcerers actually at work in the relief and nursing of the wounded. “The பேளம் or demons probably refer to these nursing agents. Incidentally we are told that the very wife of the deceased warrior shudders to approach her fallen lover because of the ghastly wounds in his frame. This is the Āñji-Kāñji theme of *Purapporu*]. The wives of slain warriors committed Sati with their deceased partners. Some of them hit themselves with the spear or javelin that hit their beloved ones and as if they tried to seek out the soul of the dead with their own soul, committed suicide.<sup>1</sup> In *Mūdānandam*, another section of *Purattinai*, we have the example of a faithful wife who, after placing the severed head<sup>2</sup> of her departed partner

1. “தன்னுயிர் கொண் டவனுயிர் தேடினள்போல்.”

2. “முலையும் முகனுஞ் சேர்த்திக் கொண்டோன்  
தலையொடு முடிந்த நிலையொடு தொகை.”

on her face immediately breathes her last. Next we get a description of the terrible dance of trunks of bodies fallen in the fight. The persistent fight of the warriors in the moats has already been referred to. In the fight that ensues in the ramparts, the victor gets hold of his enemy's head gear and wears it as his own. He then takes his purificatory bath in honour of the fallen hero or king. We then hear of what is technically known as “வாண்மங்கலம்” which consists in the victorious warrior placing his sword at the altar of the war-goddess<sup>1</sup> and performing the purificatory bath of the idol. In the following lines we have a faithful picture of an actual fight in these days. <sup>2</sup>“The battle-field that is the scene of a thousand acts of slaughter appears to these brave youngsters as a place of festival. Full of heroic spirit they are for immolating their lives at the altar of friendship. Hence they do not mind death in battle. Like bubbles occasioned by the rain-drops on a watery surface they fall scattered. As ram hits a ram in fight, their faces hit each other. Fists have a free play. Hand to hand fight ensues as also fights with bows and arrows. With the various gestures of a genuine fighting warrior, they fight and fall. After all the fallen fighters to whichever side they

1. கொற்றவை.

2. “குழாஅக்களிற் றரசர் குறித்தெழு கொலைக்களம்  
விழாஅக்களம் போல மெய்ம்மலி யுவகைய  
ராண்மை யுள்ளங் கேண்மையிற் றுரத்தலி  
னமூந்துபடர் புல்லி விழுந்துகளம் படுநரு  
நீர்ப்பெயற் பிறந்த மொக்குள் போலத்  
தாக்கிய விசையிற் சிதர்ந்துநிலம் படுநருந்  
தகருந் தகருந் தாக்கிய தாக்கின்  
முகமுகஞ் சிதற முட்டு வோரு  
முட்டியின் முறைமுறை குத்து வோருங்  
கட்டிய கையொடு காறட் குருங்  
கிட்டினர் கையாற் றொட்டுநிற் போருஞ்  
சுட்டிய பெயரை விட்டழிப் போருஞ்  
சக்கரம் போலச் சங்குவிட் டெறிநரும்  
சிலைப்புடை முரசிற் றலைப்புடைக் குருநம்  
மல்லிற் பிடித்தும் வில்லி னேற்றியும்  
ஊக்கிய முரப்பியு நோக்கியு தவன்றும்  
போக்கியும் புழுங்கியும் கயிறுபல வீசியு  
மினைய செய்தியின் முனைமயங் குருநம்  
பிறப்பும் பெருமையுஞ் சிறப்புஞ் செய்கையும்

belong, proceed to one and the same loka (world). They have done their best and have been true to their salt. While their wives on earth mourn over their dead bodies, they hurry on to garland the celestial maids in their heaven." Another stanza from "Takaṭūr Yāttirai" (the military advance on Takaṭūr) is equally interesting. In this stanza we have the following clear enunciation of the duty of a good warrior. "A good warrior, if he dedicates his life in battle, wins the approval of his patron lord for having helped him in need, secures the praise of all and is considered to have had a victorious course of life. Why then should one embrace other courses which are not only void of fame but full of disgrace and infamy? After all life is fleeting." This spirit that characterises them is of paramount importance to a king or chieftain. Unlike the mercenary army which is oftentimes disposed to practise defection, these warriors can always be relied upon. When we hear that a warrior who has stuck his spear on an elephant at once gets hold of another that has pierced his body, to renew his fight and that it was considered ignominious even to wink<sup>2</sup> when the opponent hurls the javelin or drives the spear into his body, we realise the high ennobling notions entertained by these bold men and the high standard of mili-

அரசறி பெருமையும் உரைசெல் லாண்மையும்  
உடையோ ராகிய படைகொள் மாக்கள்  
சென்றுபுக முலக மொன்றே யாதலின்  
ஒன்றுபடு மனத்தொடு கொன்றுகொண் றவாய்ச்  
செஞ்சோற்று விலையுந் தீர்ந்துதம் மனைவியர்  
தம்பிணந் தழீஇ நொந்துகலுழந் திரங்காது,  
வந்த மகளிர்க்கு வதுவை ருட்டிய  
வான்படர்ந்தோரே"

(புறத்திரட்டு.)

1. "தற்கொள் பெருவிறல் வேந்துவட்பத் தானவந்  
கொற்கத் துதவின னாகுமாற் பிற்பிற்  
பலர்புகழ் செல்வந் தருமாற் பலர்தொழ  
வாகை வாழ்க்கையு மீயுமா லன்னதோர்  
மேன்மை யிறப்பப் பழிவருவா செய்பவோ  
தானையும் போகு முயிர்க்கு"

(தகடூர்யாத்திரை.)

2. "விழித்தகண் வேல்கொண் டெறிய வழித்திமைப்பி  
கோட்டன்றோ வன்க ணவர்க்கு"

(குறள், 775.)

tary skill and the utter selflessness that characterised them. "If it is given to a soldier to die fighting for his patron lord moving him to tears of gratitude for all the good acts he has rendered him, that death is quite welcome and one can even crave to meet such a death." This was the noble concept of these brave soldiers in these early times.

### *Scenes of Victory.*

Ravaging the conquered territory with fire was often resorted to. In stanza 6 of *Puṇaṇṇūru* a bard expresses his solemn wish that the wreath worn by his patron king must fade by the smoke arising from the fire that destroys his adversary's domain. The lines

“ஊர்சுடு விளக்கத் தழுவினிக் கம்பலைக்  
கொள்ளை மேவலை”  
“எம நன்னு டொள்ளொரி யூட்டினை”  
“வினைபுனை நல்லில் வெவ்வொரி நைப்பக்  
கனையெரி யுரறிய மருங்கும்”  
“கரும் பல்லது காடறியாப்  
பெருந் தண்பனை பாழாக  
எம நன்னு டொள்ளொரி யூட்டினை”  
“முனைசுந் கனையெரி யெரித்தலிற் பெரிது  
மிதழ்கவி னழிந்த மாலையொடு சாந்துபுலர்  
பல்பொறி மார்பின் பெயர்வாழியரோ”

tell us of the pitiable condition of a ravaged land.

Next the devastation of the enemy's territory was another atrocity perpetrated by the conquerors. The following description from *Patirruppattu* will bear this out. “In the groves caused by the passage of the chariot-wheels you caused the white-mouthed asses to pass through thus completely laying waste their broad lands.” The following is a study in contrast attempted by one *Kumaṭṭur Kaṇṇaṇār* in the same classical work.

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1. “புரந்தார்க ணீர்மல்கச் சாகிற்பிற் சாக்கா  
முரந்துகோட்டக்க துடைத்து”
  2. “கடுந்தேர் குழித்த நெள்ள லாங்கண்  
வெள்வாய்க் கழுதைப் புல்லினம் யூட்டிப்  
பாழ்செய் தனையவர் நண்தலை நல்லெயில்”
  3. “தொறுத்த வய லாரல் பிறழ்நவும்  
ஏறு பொருதசெறு வழாது வித்துநவும்

(குறள், 778.)

"The irrigated fields where the Āral fish freely played, the fields that were sown without the necessity of tilling because the fat oxen had their free fights there, the sugar-cane crops being protected by the tall neytal (Blue water-lily) plants, which served as a hedge for keeping the buffaloes from breaking into the fields, the places where the bent-head old cows grazed on the āmbal (water-lily) flowers that fell scattered in the course of the Tuṇaṅkai dance, the groves that abounded in fertile cocoanuts, the meadows, the water-courses and attractive ponds, all these places, now that you have destroyed them appear quite desolate. Now the Vitatērai (Ashy babool) and Uṭai (Acacia) trees only are to be seen growing there. The demon is riding in triumph in these parts. Nerīñji (cows' thorn) and other thorny shrubs have taken the place of the rich and fertile crops and people shudder even to think of these changes."

It was also the practice among the victors to bathe their elephants in the tanks of the subdued territory which were well-guarded. The lines

"கடிதுறை நீர்க் களிற்றுபடஇ"

"ஒளிறு மருப்பிற் களிற்றவா  
காப்புடைய சுயம்படியினே."

கரும்பின் பாத்திப் பூத்த நெய்த  
விருங்க ணெருமையி னிரைதடிக் குகவுங்  
கலிகெழு துணங்கை யாடிய மருங்கின்  
வளைதலை மூதா வாம்ப லார்நவு  
ஒலிதெங்கி னிமிழ் மருதிற்  
புனல்வாயிற் பூம்பொய்கைப்  
பாடல் சான்ற பயங்கெழு வைப்பி  
ஹுகவி னழிய நாமந் தோற்றிக்  
கூற்றலு நின்ற யாக்கை போல  
நீசிவந் திறுத்த நீரழி பாக்கம்  
விரிபூங் கரும்பின் கழனி புல்லெனத்  
திரிகால் விடத்தொடு காருடை போகிக்  
கவைத்தலைப் பேய்மகள் கழுதூர்ந் தியங்க  
ஆரிய நெருஞ்சி நீருடு பைந்தலைத்  
தாநெரு மறுத்த கலியெழு மன்றத்  
துன்ன மழிய ஆக்குநர் மிடறபுத்  
துள்ளுநர் பனிக்கப் பாழா யினவே."

tell us of this custom. Then we find that the victor used to make a kaḷal (கழல்) or Virakaṇṭai from the gold extracted from the enemy's diadem and wear the same in his ankle. A poet sings "you the victorious king who with the gold got from the crown of the defeated enemy, have caused to be made a kaḷal and have adorned your leg with the same." We also get a horrible description of the "Field Sacrifice." "In the 26th stanza of Puraṇāṇūru, a poet addresses the king as follows:<sup>3</sup>—

"Oh, ye Cēliya. You killed the kings in battles and wrested from them their war drums. With their heads that wore crowns, serving as ovens and their blood as the boiling water, you turned up the boiling rice with their severed hands that had worn bracelets once. Thus you performed your field sacrifice".

Another act of victory was the planting of the ensign of the victor's banner in the enemy's land. The planting of the tiger ensign by Karikālcoḷa and the bow ensign by the Cēra king is very well known. The following lines are in praise of a king. "Fraught with valour you are enabled to break down the gates of the ramparts and to implant your tiger emblem on the fort-walls of the capital."<sup>4</sup> The next important act of the victor was to take possession of the field of action. The field automatically belongs to the conqueror. The lines

"வென்று களங்கொண்ட வேல்வேந்தே" (பு. வெ. மா. 9, 37)  
 "களங் கொள் பொறைய"

1.

"நீயே

முடிபுனைந்த பசும்பொன்னின்  
 அடிபொலியக் கழறையு  
 வல்லாளனை வயவேந்தே."

(புறம். 40.)

2. களவேள்வி.

3. அரைசுபட வாமருழக்கி

உரைசெல முரசுவெளவி

முடித்தலை யடுப்பாகப்

புனற்குருதி யுலக்கொளீஇத்

தொடித்தோட் டிடுப்பிற் றுழந்த வல்சியின்

அடுகனம் வேட்ட வடுபோற் செழிய."

4. "எழெயிற் கதவ மெறிந்துகைக் கொண்டுகின்  
 பேழ்வா யுழவை பொறிக்கு மாற்றலை."



“கொன்று களங்கொள்ளும் கோல்யானை  
வேந்தனை  
வென்று களங்கொள்ளும் வேந்தா.”

are illustrative of the above practice. We then find that the subjugated yavana soldiers had their hands bound and their heads smeared with oil, while the best valuables that belonged to the vanquished were carried away as spoils of victory.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Another deplorable and barbarous act of the victors was the making of ropes from the hair removed from the heads of the widows of the slain enemy and using them to draw their chariots. The pitiable devastation of the country will be clear from the following description.

<sup>3</sup>“You cut off the strong margosa that was the guardian tree of your foe, and by slaughtering the soldiers that defy you, caused a stream of blood to flow. The blood ran like rain water in mountain gorges and the dead bodies were seen lying in heaps everywhere. Thus you sounded your drum of victory.”

Acts like those described above were deemed fit to appease the wrath of the victor, generated by the violent action of his adversary, unmindful of his prowess. These atrocities which are said to have been perpetrated in the ancient Tamil land have their echo even now in the 20th century, in the midst of the so-called civilised nations. Arranging the foes in a line in fifties and hundreds, the victors shoot them all with volley fire, with-

1. “நயனில் வன்சொல் யவனர் பிணித்து  
நெய்தலைப் பெய்து கைபிற் கொளீஇ  
யருவிலை நன்கலம் வயிரமொடு கொண்டு.” (பதிற். 2. பதி.)
2. “முரற்சிக் களிறு பூட்டி  
யொழுக்கை யுய்த்த.”  
“வாலிழை கழித்த நறும்பல் பெண்டிர்  
பல்லிருங் கூர்தன் முரற்சியாற்  
குஞ்சர வொழுக்கை பூட்டி.” (பதிற் 5. பதி.)
3. “நெய்த்தோர் தொட்ட செங்கை மறவர்  
நிறம்படு குருதி நிலம்படர்ந் தோடி  
மழைநாட் புனவி னவல்பாந் தொழுகப்  
படுபிணம் பிறங்கப் பாழ்பல செய்து  
படுகண் முரசு நடுவண் சிலைப்பக்  
கடுஞ்சினை விறல் வேம்பறுத்தா.”

(பதிற். 5, 9,)

out the least compunction. Regular holocaust is caused and the recent war in Spain is a hundred times worse than those waged in times of yore, a description of which had been attempted in the foregoing pages.

One other curious custom prevalent in those days was to fix or tie margosa leaves in the eaves of house-fronts so that the demons may not approach the wounded people lying inside. The king used to grant a general amnesty and order a truce even in the middle of a campaign, if his<sup>1</sup> birth-day celebration intervened. But the hostilities commenced the very next day with renewed vigour to be continued until final success was achieved. The king was also used to set up the teeth of his adversary in the doors or gateways of ramparts and thus satisfy his revenge.<sup>2</sup> The cultivated lands of the enemy were laid waste and rāgi (Eleusine coracana) and horsegram were sown therein.

Lastly the spoils of victory were distributed by the victor to his allies, to those fighters who, true to their salt, helped him to win the battle, to the messengers and secret spies, who supplied him with information of the various movements of the enemy, to the bards and minstrels who sang his praises and to other well-wishers. The cows captured from the enemy were freely distributed to all. The following passages will best illustrate the above statement.

<sup>3</sup>“Distributing in the order of merits, to the recipients of gifts, the wealth surrendered by the defeated king.”

<sup>4</sup>“The king full of fury at the scene of battle returned with the spoils, to be given away freely to the different classes of minstrels.”

1. நான்மங்கலம்.

2. “மூவன் முழுவலி முன்னெயி நழுத்திய  
கதவிற் கானலந் தொண்டிப் பொருந்.”

(நற். 18.)

“நெடுஞ்சே ணுட்டிற் ருலத்தார்ப் பட்ட  
கல்லா வெழினி பல்லெறிந் தழுத்திய  
வன்கட் கதவின்.”

(அகம். 211.)

3. “அவ்வெயிற் கொண்ட செய்வுறு நன்கலம்  
பரிசின் மாக்கட்டு வரிசையி னல்கி”

4. “அங்கட் கிணையன் றடியன் விறலியன்  
வெங்கட்டு வீசம் விலையாகும்—செங்கட்

<sup>1</sup>“Bestowing on the dancers chariots and horses.” <sup>2</sup>Having removed the penury of minstrels with the spoils got from the destruction of the enemy’s ramparts or fort-walls.” <sup>3</sup>Satisfying the relatives that adhere to him with the tribute paid by the defeated king.” <sup>4</sup>Decking or embellishing the minstrels’ heads with gold got from the face ornaments of the enemy’s elephant.”

*Messengers and spies.*

These people played an important role in our ancient system of international relations. <sup>5</sup>The royal ambassador was always a very capable man fully qualified for that post. Nobility of birth, love towards his relations, devotion to the king, wisdom and commonsense, care and consideration in the choice and use of words, deep erudition, fine and enticing personality, brevity of expression and a capacity for discrimination, these are the indispensable qualifications of a successful ambassador. It is for him to extol his master’s prowess and to praise him to the skies.

<sup>6</sup>The spies were of a different order. They are described as the king’s eyes. The king must employ spies to gather information about the enemy’s movements. The spies must secretly work and get information about all classes of people including officials and enemies of the king. Disguising themselves as mendicants and others they should carefully secure information. One spy will not suffice. A number of them must be employed in one and the same errand, while a special care should be taken that

செருச்சிலயா மன்னர் செருமுனையிற் சீழ்  
வரிச்சிலயாற் றந்த வளம்”

(பு. வெ. ம. 16.)

1. “நாளீண்டிய நல்லகவர்க்குத்  
தேரோடு மாசிதறி”
2. “விநன் வேன் மன்னர் மன்னெயின் முருக்கி  
நயவர் பாணர் புன்கண் தீர்த்தயன்”

(சிறுபாண்.)

8. “வேந்து தந்த பணிதிறையாற்  
சேர்ந்தவர் கடும்பார்த்து”

(புறம். 22.)

4. “பாணர் சென்னி டொவியத் தைஇ”

(புறம் 126.)

5. See Tirukkural, Chap. 69.

6. Do Chap. 59.

each knows not the other and when all of them return with news the king must get their statements separately and by comparing and collating them, understand the nature of the situation. Any public demonstration on behalf of any spy was absolutely prohibited as that would lead the people to inquire into the cause of the demonstration which would ultimately frustrate the end in view. Absolute secrecy must be maintained at all costs. The spy himself must be a fearless individual capable of undergoing any hardship that may be his lot to suffer in case he should be detected.

This organised system of messengers and spies was one of the valuable aids to kingship that existed in those days. Mediators were also there, who gained a lot by their successful efforts. The king honoured those who helped him and conferred on them various titles of distinction as. <sup>1</sup>Ēṇāti, <sup>2</sup>Kāviti, etc. This was termed <sup>3</sup>"Mārāya-c-cirappu" in the ancient Tamil works on grammar.

#### *Confederation.*

Many kings or chiefs allied themselves in wars. We come across numerous instances of this alliance or confederation in the old Tamil books. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharāvēla the Great of Kalinga dated 157. B. C. records the earliest known mention of such confederations. The inscription tells us that Kharāvēla broke or dissolved the confederation of the Dravidian kings. This is termed <sup>4</sup>"*Tatainilai*" in Tamil works. Wars of an inter-racial or inter-regional character were numerous, and when we perceive ample references to the yavanas, we are led to conclude that there were international struggles also. Naval warfare was also in vogue as had been observed already. The lines

1. ஏனாதி.
2. காவிதி.
3. மாராயச் சிறப்பு.

4. ததைநிலை. The meaning of this term was interpreted differently by different people. The correct meaning was for the first time expounded by Mahāvidvāṇ Bhāṣākaviśekhara Raghava Aiyangar of the Annamalai University, when he delivered a lecture under the auspices of the above University on the Hathigumpha inscription.

“ஈரோழு கேளிரும் ஒருகனத் தெழிய”  
 “ஒன்பது குடையு மொருக லொழித்த”  
 “ஒளிறுவான் மன்னர் ததைநிலை கொன்று”

(பதிற். 86.)

as well as the famous war in Talaiyālaṅgāṇam remind us of the united front offered by combinations of kings and chieftains in the Tamil land.

In all fights the victor indulged in plundering and laying waste the country, but with due consideration exempted the temples and places of worship as well as the quarters of Brahmans or Seers. The lines “without disturbing the temples or places of worship and the residence of Brahmans” will illustrate this. This is no doubt in striking contrast to the incendiarism even now prevalent in spite of the advancement of the so-called civilisation in modern countries. The horrors perpetrated in Spain in the civil war that is being waged are painful and melancholy reading. Cathedrals and public places are said to have been burnt and the most beautiful buildings and charming works of art reduced to ashes. The dropping of deadly bombs on red-cross buildings, hospitals and nursing homes by the Italians in the late Italo-Abyssinian war are fresh in everybody's mind.

#### *Tombs or Hero-Stones.*

Tomb or memorial stones were erected in memory of the dead warriors. These were termed <sup>2</sup>“Virakkal.” To worship this stone whenever he sees it or passes by it, was the solemn duty of every warrior or fighter. The aspiration of each soldier was either to win in the fight or to fight unto death; in the latter case he will secure noble interment with a stone planted over his grave-yard and a memorial tablet recording his deeds of valour attached to it. The fixing of the stone was attended with appropriate ceremonies and we have detailed descriptions of them from the pens of old poets and bards. Offerings of food and flowers were made in front of the stone. Here are some passages

1. “பலிபெறு நன்னகரும் பள்ளியிடனு  
 மொலிகெழு நான்மறையோ ரில்லு—நலிவோரீஇ”

(பு. வெ. மா.)

2. வீரக்கல்.

illustrative of the above statements. A poet sings <sup>1</sup>“will this hero accept this pea-cock feather which goes to adorn his memorial and the small quantity of drink that is offered to him, this hero, who refused to accept the vast country full of hills and ranges.” Another poet describes thus. <sup>2</sup>“By the daily offering of toddy, by pouring water and by burning incense.” A third one exhorts the people thus. <sup>3</sup>“Put up lamps in the niche of the tombstone to do honour to the hero who died in the thick of the fight after having got back the cattle that had been carried away by the enemy.”

The above passages impress on us the honour due to the fallen heroes. The spirits of such heroes came to be regarded in course of time as deities by the people. This is perhaps one of the reasons for the plethora of minor deities worshipped in villages side by side with the recognised Gods of the Hindu Pantheon. Viran, Iruḷan, Kāṭṭēri, Veriyan, Pāvātai, and they are legion, are probably the relics of this practice of raising tombstones that existed in this remote period in the history of Dravidian India.

#### *Arrangement of the army.*

No description of any elaborate arrangement of the army in the battle-field finds mention in the ancient Sangam classics. Of course the Rāmāyāṇa and the Mahābhārata tell us of the various “Vyūhas” and the different positions of the bowmen such

1. “நடுகற் பீலி சூட்டி நாரரி  
செறுகலத் துருப்பவுங் கொள்வன் கொல்லோ  
கோயெர் பிறங்குமலை கெழீஇய  
நாடுடன் கொடுப்பவுங் கொள்ளாதோனே”

(புறம். 232.)

2. “இல்லவி கள்ளின் நாட்பலி யூட்டி  
நன்னீ ராட்டி நெய்நறைக் கொளீஇ,  
மங்குன் மாப்புதை மறுகுடன் கமழும்”

(Ibid 329.)

3. “அனுகொ ளாபெயர்த் தாரமரில் வீழ்ந்தோனிற்  
கின்றுகொள் பல்லா னினமெல்லாங்—குன்றாமற்  
செய்ய்மினோ சேர்ப்பச் செற்பாகத் தீபங்கள்  
பெய்மினோ பீடம் உருத்து”

as "Ālīḍham, Pratyālīḍham etc. But this absence of mention must not lead us to conclude that they were not then in vogue. We frequently come across the words "தார்" "துரி". "கழை" etc., (the front and the rear ranks). The various astras that are mentioned in the epics do not find a place in the old Tamil classics. The actual weapons that were in vogue have all been detailed already.

### *Conclusion.*

To conclude, the ancient system of warfare, as described in the foregoing pages, was an elaborate and organised one. Originating chiefly from a love of fame, the king and his adherents waged wars strictly observing the rules laid down. The bold members of the warlike families who prized fame more than their lives and who were not actuated by mere mercenary motives were an asset and Tamil works are replete with their heroic exploits. Faithfulness and staunch devotion to the master or the chief characterised these heroes. The valiant acts of the heroic mothers thrill us to admiration. Side by side with the fury displayed by the warriors we see righteousness, courage and consideration. The devastation of the country was undertaken on a vast scale and the spoils of victory were great. The women captives in the war were ordered to perform menial services in the temples of the victor and other public places, irrespective of their status. Every king deemed it his duty to relieve the sufferings of people who groaned under tyrants, by subjugating the malefactor. The spoils of victory were freely distributed among the victor's adherents. As Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa has expressed in his immortal song "I know no act more sacred to a kṣattriya than a war based on righteousness" fight was deemed the holiest thing for one that came of the warrior clan. Various rules were framed to guide the warrior king, as to how he should decide what he should do in consultation with the aged ministers and others, and how he should employ messengers and spies and so on. The king must not proceed rashly on a fighting campaign<sup>1</sup> "without duly considering the situation at the moment, his own resources as well as the enemy's might." All these must be

1.

துணைவலியுந் துக்கிச் செயல்"

(குறள். 471)

carefully weighed before he actually enters on the campaign. It was thought a wise course to be on the defensive and await the attack of his foe; for as the Kural says<sup>1</sup> "A crocodile in its own element is capable of destroying an elephant, but, when out of it, any animal can do it harm."

These rules indicate to us an orderly body of maxims of conduct in war, observed by rulers in those days. Above all it was the love of fame that was at the root of all the martial activity. Many such campaigns took place, some of them being inter-racial and inter-national too. Most of them have historical basis. The lines

"பேரிசை மரபி னூரியர் வணக்கி"

"வன் சொல் யவனர்ப் பிணித்து"

"மோரியர் தென்றிசை மாநிர முன்னிய

"வரவிற்கு மோகூர் பணியாமை யிற்பகை"

and many similar ones tell us of the various invasions from abroad by the Aryans (northerners), Yavanas, Mauryas and others. The several events in the course of the grim struggle have been mentioned already. One of the most important was the capture of the enemy's head. The warrior who fetched the head of the royal adversary was amply rewarded. This is devoted to the sub-theme—"Talai mārāyaṇ" in Purapporuḷ Venpāmālai. The valiant spirit that characterised the amazons has been already pointed out and I cannot better close this essay than by quoting the following lines from Purapporuḷ Venpāmālai, describing a warlike woman.<sup>2</sup> "My father is in the form of a hero-stone, my husband died in the battle-field, all my brothers were killed in the front, and my dear son advancing fearlessly on the enemy, in support of his patrōn, is lying in the field like a porcupine (*i.e.* full of missiles and arrows

1. "நெடும்புனலுள் வெல்லு முதலை யடம்புனலு  
ணீகதி னதனைப் பிற"

(குறள். 495,)

2. "கன்னின்று செந்தை கணவன் களப்பட்டான்  
முன்னின்று மொய்யந்தா ரென்னையியர்—பின்னின்று  
கைபோய்க் கணைவதைப்பக் காவலன் மேலோடி  
யெய்போற் கிடந்தானென் ஏறு"

(பு. வெ. 83.)



sticking to his body resembling the bristles)." Thus she rightly prides herself on the distinction gained by all the members of her family. This warlike spirit of women, the separate military caste, the peculiar custom of cutting the dead body of one born of the warrior caste who happened to die anywhere other than in a battle-field and some other similar customs which were prevalent in the ancient Tamilakam may be compared favourably with those detailed by Col. Tod in his remarkable work, "The Annals of Rajasthan."

## A NOTE ON NELEVĪḌU

BY

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH. D.

The term *nelevīḍu* has given rise to much confusion in the field of South Indian historical research, due mainly to the lack of knowledge of modern scholars as regards its precise meaning. The tendency during the recent years is to equate it with '*rājadhāni*' or the capital of a king or a government. Alluding to a few inscriptions in which king Ballāḷa III is said to have been residing in his '*nelevīḍu*' of Uṇṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa,<sup>1</sup> H. Krishna Sastri declares that 'in the latter part of his reign, Ballāḷa changed his capital to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in the South Arcot District';<sup>2</sup> Krishna-swami Aiyangar, Heras and others have accepted his interpretation, and based on it some theories which have gained a certain amount of recognition among scholars. These writers, in fact, follow the lead of Fleet who considered this problem in one of the early volumes of the *Indian Antiquary* and reached the definite conclusion that '*nelevīḍu*' meant 'a permanent capital'. The clue to the real meaning of the term is found in one of the inscriptions of the Silāhāras noticed by Fleet where the word *sthira śibira* is used in the place of the usual '*nelevīḍu*'. He failed to grasp its real import and dismissed it from consideration with the following remarks:—

"In the Sanskrit, as in the Canarese term, we have still an apparent contradiction; since the first member of the compound *sthira* means 'firm, fixed, permanent, enduring,' while the second member, *śibira* or *śivira*, means, according to Prof. Monier Williams, 'a camp, a royal camp, royal residence, an intrenchment for the protection of the army', and therefore conveys the idea of a temporary abode. But both the words appear to occur only in connection with the names of large cities which were

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1. EC ix DB. 14, 18; DV 1, 60; Ht. 124.

2. ASR 1907-8 p. 236.

permanent capitals. And in one instance we find the word *rājadhānī* which could be hardly applied to a temporary residence or halting place, coupled with *nelevīḍu*. It would seem, therefore, that *nelevīḍu* has the meaning of a 'permanent capital' rather than a temporary victorious camp."<sup>1</sup>

The word '*śibira*', no doubt, means a 'royal residence'; but the idea of impermanence is still inherent in it. If '*śibira*' is to be interpreted as 'royal residence', it can only mean a residence where the king happens to stay at any given time temporarily; and it cannot be taken to mean a capital.

Now, '*nelevīḍu*' or *nelavīḍu* as it is spelt in Telugu, is a term common to both Canarese and Telugu languages; in the former it is frequently met with in the inscriptions; and in the latter in literature where it is generally taken to denote permanent residence.<sup>2</sup> The term '*nelevīḍu*' consists of two words *nele* or in Telugu '*nela*' and *vīḍu*. The former which is etymologically connected with the Dravidian root '*nil*' means primarily 'standing'; of the several secondary meanings which are derived from it, the following, viz., enduring, permanent, fixed, may be noted with advantage in this connection. The word '*vīḍu*' which is derived from the root '*vid*' meaning 'to stay, to halt' denotes a halting place, a camp etc. Therefore, '*nelevīḍu*' may be interpreted simply as 'permanent camp'. There is no contradiction

1. IA xii p. 111.

2. In Nanni Cōḍa's *Kumārasambhava* (5: 584) where the word is used in association with *tiṭṭa*, *tānaka*, *puṭṭinillu*, *kuṭamu*, *janmadēśamu*, *penṭa*, *manda*, *vēṭa naṭṭu*, and *sahavāsamu*, its meaning cannot be exactly determined.

చ॥ తలపులతిట్ట భావముల తానక మానల పుట్టినిల్లు గో  
 ద్దుల నెంపేడు వల్వగలకోట మనస్థల జన్మ దేశ ము  
 వ్వులికలపెంట వేదనలమంద మనోభవువేటనట్టు మా  
 ర్చల సహవాస మన్వీరహసంతితాపము వొండె బాంధ్వితి॥

Here the word *tiṭṭa* means 'a heap'; *tānaka*, a place; *puṭṭinillu*, birth place; *kūṭam*, an assemblage; *janmadēśam*, native country; *penṭa* and *manda* denote a cattle pen; *vēṭanāṭṭu* signifies a hunting ground; and *sahavāsamu* means association. It is evident that it is not possible to fix the meaning of *nelavīḍu* here, though it may be taken to imply something between permanent camping ground like *penṭa* and *manda* and *janmadēśam*.

in the term, as it is not impossible for a camp to be permanent.<sup>1</sup> But there arises a difficulty when this meaning is rigorously applied to the term in all places. A camp cannot be conceived of absolutely; the concept of camp is invariably associated with men or other living beings. Now, when we read of 'a permanent camp' in an inscription, we naturally desire to know the objects with reference to which it is called a camp. The answer that is usually given to this question is that it is the permanent camp of a king. It is not explained what exactly is meant by a permanent camp, and why, if it is identical with his capital, it is not alluded to by the usual term *rājadhānī*. Moreover, this interpretation of the term '*neleviḍu*' does not completely solve all the difficulties. The inscriptions reveal the fact that within a comparatively short period, some of the kings were residing in a dozen or more '*neleviḍus*'. A concrete instance may serve to illustrate the statement. The Hoysala king, Ballāḷa III is said to have been living between 1329 and 1339 A.D. in the following '*neleviḍus*'.

Reference.	Date.	Name of the Neleviḍu.
EC ix DB 14	S. 1251	Unṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa.
EC v Ak 66	S. 1252	Virūpākṣapaṭṭaṇa.
EC xii GB 30	S. 1253	Virūpākṣa-Hosadurga.
EC ix Cp 71	S. 1253	Aruṇasamudra.
EC ix N1 9	S. 1255	Hosabetṭa.
MER 401 of 1919	S. 1256	Conjeevaram.
EC ix Bn 110	S. 1257	Dōrasamudra.
EC ix Ht 43	S. 1261	Vīra Vijaya Virūpākṣapaṭṭaṇa.

It is highly improbable that all the eight places mentioned above could have been his capitals. The multiplicity of the *neleviḍus* within a short period of ten years, precludes the possibility of his stay permanently in any one of these places. Therefore, the interpretation suggested above must be considerably modified, if it cannot be abandoned altogether.

1. It may not be without interest to note here one of the meanings given to the word 'camp', "A permanent station for the training of troops in campaigning duties generally", in the Shorter Oxford Dictionary i, p. 254.

The correctness of the meanings 'enduring, permanent, fixed' given by Fleet for '*nele*' in '*neleviḍu*' must be accepted; for the term '*slhira*' which is employed in its stead in the Śilāhāra inscription mentioned above shows clearly that they convey the sense properly required in the context. Fleet's translation of the word '*viḍu*' cannot however be accepted without modification; no doubt, it denotes a halting place or a camp, as explained above; but this is its primary sense; and by constant usage it came to be applied to a particular kind of camp, *viz*, the military camp. The term is frequently used in an old Telugu literary work in this sense. Nanne Cōḍa makes use of this term in describing the camp of Skanda's army while describing its march on Tāraka:—

Having advanced with enthusiasm in this manner, the army of the Gods took up their position on the battle-field appointed formerly by the envoy of Tāraka, and halted (*viḍi senu*) on the bank of a great river.

(The men of the army engaged themselves in the following manner at that time.)

Some alighted from their vehicles; some freed (the beasts of burden) from their harness; some hoisted their ensigns to indicate their *viḍus*; some set up temples, shops, tents and booths; some having sought suitable places, halted near pools of water or under the shade of trees; some went back to lead the stragglers, and brought them to the camp. Some wandered aimlessly in search of their *viḍus* unable to locate them; and some who had discovered their *viḍus* repaired to them.

Again, while relating the *virālāpas* (the boasts of heroes) in Skanda's camp, Nanne Cōḍa puts the following words in the mouth of one of the warriors:

"I shall turn back the heroes that come in advance of the enemy's *viḍu* (camp or army) so that I may be regarded as the only hero in both the *viḍus* (camps or armies).

It is evident that Cōḍa uses the word '*viḍu*' here in a special sense; and Tikkana in his Mahābhārata uses it in a similar

క॥ ఈవిధమున నుత్సాహము తపస్వినురారెదూత తలిచెప్పిన యు

ద్ధావని కైకొని విడిసెను దేవపతాకిని మహానదీతీరమున॥

సీ॥ వాహనంబులుడిగ్గువారును బన్నులువిడుచువారును దమవీరు

manner. Speaking of the activities of the Kaurava and Pāṇḍava camps, on the night following the fifth day of the Great Battle, Tikkana declares that men of both *vidus* engaged themselves on that night, as usual, in singing and reciting poetry.<sup>1</sup> Again, while relating Kṛṣṇa's suggestion that the Pāṇḍavas should not tarry in the deserted Kaurava camp at the end of the Great Battle he says:—

As the *vidu* has become desolate, it is not meet that we should halt here; we must repair to a place free from pollution, and spend the night there in a suitable manner for the sake of prosperity and happiness. Having said this, the son of Vasudēva, with increasing affection led the sons of Pāṇḍu together with his own brother out of the *śibira*.<sup>2</sup>

In another context, Tikkana refers to the armies of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas actually engaged in fighting as '*vidus*'. Duryōdhana displayed great heroism against heavy odds a little before the death of Śakuni and his flight from the battle-field.

దమతమ చిహ్నముల్ దనరంగ బట్టించువారు నొండొరుల బిల్లు  
వారు జెలంగి  
గుట్టమండియలును గూడారములును బందీలును గలయ నెత్తించు  
వారు  
మడుగులపొందుల మ్రాకులనీకల వెరవుల గనికని విడియువారు  
బిలుదల జిక్కినవారల బిలున బోవు వారు నెడగని తొడొని  
వచ్చువారు.  
వీరులెఱుంగక దెసదప్పి వెరకువారు నెఱిగి తమతమవీళ్లకునేగు  
వారు॥

\* \* \* \* \*

మిగుల నిన్ను నన్ను మిగులుదుననువారి మిగిలి మాటువీట  
మిగిలి వచ్చు  
మగలనెల్ల నేను మగిడింతు నెక్కటివీరుడనగ రెండువీళ్లయందు.

—కూమా: ౧౧. ౫౮౮-౯౦, ౯౧౦.

1. Mahābhāratam (Telugu) iv (Vavilla edn.) Bhīṣmaparvam 2: 343.

2. *Ibid.* Śalyaparvam 2: 350.

While describing Duryōdhana's valorous deeds to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Sañjaya declares, 'It appeared to me that there was no warrior in both the *vīḍus* who could be considered his peer.'<sup>1</sup>

In these passages, Tikkana uses '*vīḍu*' to signify a military camp or a camp of warriors engaged in fighting. Therefore, like *śibira*, which Tikkana uses as its synonym, *vīḍu* must be taken to denote 'an entrenchment for the protection of the army.' Later writers employ this word to denote an army. Describing the *sandhyārāga* or the red colour spreading over the sky at dawn, Nandi Timmanna likens it to the glow caused by the conflagration of the burning camp of the moon (*rāju*) which was set fire to by his servants, after he marched away with his *vīḍu*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Sankusāla Narasimha Kavi refers to the opposing armies of Rāvaṇa and Māndhātṛ arrayed in battle order and ready for fighting as '*vīḍus*'. King Māndhātṛ commanded his daṇḍanāyakas to arrange their forces in battle array.

They (the daṇḍanāyakas) arranged the *vīḍu* of the king in such a manner that horses, elephants, chariots and foot stood protecting one another.

When both the *vīḍus* were arrayed, Nārada's mouth watered; the *apsarasas* danced with joy; Death smacked her lips with eagerness; and the heart of the Sun cracked all over.

Having perceived the impatience of their respective *dhvajinīs* arrayed and ready for battle, Māndhātṛ and Rāvaṇa waved their hands in great anger signalling their forces to commence fighting.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Ibid.* Śalyaparvam 1: 323.

“అప్పుడు రెండువీళ్ల నలసిపాటి మేటిచుగలు లేరనుబుద్ధి నాకుం బొడమె ”

2. రాజు వీడెత్తి చనినదారకభటాలి యంబరాభోగనిజ

శిబిరాంగణమున

గాలుకొల్పిన పావకజ్వాల లనంగి బ్రాచిగనుఁజ్ఞెనవ

సాంధ్యరాగరుచులు॥

—శా 2: 66.

3. \* . . . దనుజసేనకుంబ్రతిగా నిజబలంబుల మాటొడ్డునంఘ టించుటకు దండనాయకుల నియోగించిన.

It follows from this that 'nelevidu' is used to denote the camp of an army as well as an army itself. Having regard for the early date of the inscriptions in which the term occurs, it may be taken to mean 'a permanent military camp.' It does not denote a capital, permanent or otherwise.

This view is also supported by the evidence of the inscriptions. Several epigraphs mostly dated in the Cālukya Vikrama era mention Kalyāṇada *neleviḍu* or the *neleviḍu* of Kalyāṇa.<sup>1</sup> One of the epigraphs at Kolanupāka which is in Sanskrit has *skandhāvūra* in the place of 'neleviḍu.'

“Śrīmat Tribhuvanamalla Vallabhō Śrī  
Kalyāṇapura nivēśita nija vijaya skandhā  
Vāre sukhēna rājyasukham anubhāvātē.”<sup>2</sup>

It is not unreasonable to take the 'skandhāvūra' of this inscription as the equivalent of the 'neleviḍu' mentioned in the others, and translate it into English as a cantonment.

క॥ హరికరిఁ గరిహరి హరికరు॥ బరద మరదము కరిహరుల హరికరి  
రథముల్  
పురుషునిఁబురుషుఁడురథకరి॥ హరులంఁగాచిఁకొనఁబన్నిరథివలి  
వీట॥

ఉ॥ వీళ్లవి రెండుఁబన్నుడు దివిం గలహాశనమాని చూడ్కులు  
వీళ్లుగొనంగఁ జొచ్చె నలవేల్పు సడంతుల నెమ్మనంబు పిం  
పింల్లోగిగూయఁజొచ్చె దమి పెక్కువ మృత్యువుమింగఁజొచ్చెగ్గు  
క్కిళ్లవియంగఁజొచ్చె రవికిం హృదయం బఖిలంబు నయ్యెడ॥

గీ॥ పన్ని వేగిరించుపరనిజధ్వజినులఁ, జూచికోపమేచ్చిత్రోచియపుడు  
పోరనొండాకంటిఁబాడుచుటకవనీశ, విబుధరిపులుగేలువిడుచుట

యును.

—కవిక 2: 148-151.

1. The Telingāṇa Inscriptions: Chālukya Inscriptions Nos. 5, 6, 10; 22, 25, 28, 29, 30; (No. 15 *Rājadhāni Kalyāṇapura nilavīdu*).

2. *Ibid.* No. 42.



## MĀNAMANOHARA.

BY

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Aufrecht mentions *Mānamanohara* as a Mīmāṃsā work by Vāgīśvara (Cat. Cat. I, p. 451 a). He also says that *Mānamanohara* is quoted by Mādhava in his *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha* and by Citsukha in his *Pratyaktattvapradīpikā*. My attempt in the following is to collect all available information about this author, discuss his date and try to reconstruct some of the views generally attributed to him.

On p. 106 of the Ānandāśrama edition of the *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha* there is a reference to a view held in the *Mānamanohara* regarding the eternality of sound. The text is:—

तथा च

प्रत्यभिज्ञा यदा शब्दे जागर्ति निरवग्रहा ।

अनित्यत्वानुमानानि सैव सर्वाणि बाधते ॥

एतेनेदमप्यपास्तम्, यदवादि वागीश्वरेण मानमनोहरे—अनित्यः शब्दः,  
इन्द्रियविशेषगुणत्वात्, चक्षुरूपवत्—इति ।

This clearly shows that the author of the *Mānamanohara* held sound as non-eternal, unlike the Mīmāṃsakas, with whom sound is eternal. Perhaps the occurrence of *Mānamanohara* in the Jaiminidarśana of the *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha*, led Autrecht to suppose that work to belong to Pūrva-mīmāṃsā. This is not so. It is a Vaiśeṣika work, and what is sought by Mādhava here is only to refute the views of the nyāya-vaiśeṣika regarding the eternality of sound. The unmistakable terms in which the author of the *Nayanaprasādinī* condemns *Mānamanoharakāra* clearly show that it was a Vaiśeṣika work and did not belong to Pūrvamīmāṃsā:—

एवं चैतादृशमुत्तरदानं पिण्याकयाचिने खारिकतैलदानं वा सकल-  
लोकवेदनिन्दितवैशेषिकदर्शनमदिरामत्ताय मरणान्तिकप्रायश्चित्तरूपतीव्रतरतर्क-  
तप्तमदिराधारादानं वेत्यात्मनि परिभावय इत्यलम् ।

(न. प्र. p. 170, Nir. Sag. Edn.)

Thus we see that *Mānamanohara* is the name of a Vaiśeṣika work written by Vādivāgīśvara. Most of the available references

to him give not his name but usually refer to him as *Mānamanoharakāra*. In a few places he is referred to by his name also. His name is differently pronounced as *Vādivāgīśvara* or simply as *Vāgīśvara*. And the work too is either called *Mānamanohara* or simply *Manohara*. In a few cases the author too is referred to as *Manohara*.

Regarding the date of *Vāgīśvara*, we have to rely upon external sources. The work, *Mānamanohara*, is not yet available even in manuscript form.<sup>1</sup> Mādhava refers to him in his *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha*. Citsukha (1200 A.D.) in his *Pratyaktattvaprādīpikā* cites some of the views held by the author of the *Mānamanohara* and refutes them in his own way. Many such points are made clear by the commentator, Pratyaksvarūpabhagavān in his *Nayanaprasādinī*.

A slightly earlier reference to *Mānamanohara* is found in the works of Ānandānubhava, pupil of Nārāyaṇa Jyotis and author of *Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa*, *Nyūyaratnadīpāvalī*, *Padārthatattvanirṇaya* etc. Ānandānubhava refers to Ānandabodha's views and his *Nyūyaratnadīpāvalī* is mentioned in *Citsukhī* according to the commentator. So that the chronological position of Ānandānubhava is between Ānandabodha and Citsukha. I have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> tried to place Ānandānubhava about 1100 A.D.

Now from the very contemptuous phrases<sup>3</sup> used by Ānandānubhava in condemning the author of the *Mānamanohara*, it is evident that he might have been almost Ānandānubhava's contemporary or at least not very far removed from him. This would bring the author of the *Mānamanohara* to almost the same period as Ānandānubhava; perhaps he might have lived a little earlier, i.e., *Mānamanoharakāra* would have flourished somewhere in the middle of the 11th century A.D.

1. See *Tarkasāṅgraha* (G. O. S. Edn.), Introduction p. xviii, where Mr. Tripathi mentions one Ms. at Śrīnāthaji's temple at Nāthadvāra.

See also p. 40 of S. R. Bhandarkar's Report of a Second Tour in Search of Sanskrit Mss. in Rajaputana and Central India. The ms. is said to belong to the Chief Maharaja of Nāthadvāra near Udaipur and it is dated Samvat 1547, i.e., 1490 A.D.

2. In a paper entitled 'Ānandānubhava and his works' shortly to be published.

3. मानमनोहरकर्तृशरीरं एतज्जनकागर्दभेतरजन्यम्, कार्यत्वात्, कुम्भवत् इत्यपि तेन अनुमीयेत (p. 81 of Ānandānubhava's *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*, Madras Ms. R. No. 2981.)

A superior limit to the date of the author of *Mānamanohara* can be fairly arrived at. On. p. 29 of the *Nayanaprasādini*, Pratyakṣvarūpa introduces *Mānamanohara*'s arguments with regard to darkness. Vāgīśvara, like the Vaiśeṣikas, held *tamas* not as a separate entity but as only the absence of light. Pratyakṣvarūpa refers to *Mānamanohara* as quoting the authority of 'Nātha' in support of his view. The reference may be given in full:—

यदाह मानमनोहरः—तमसि प्रमाणाभावमुपन्यस्य, 'नीलं तमः' इति प्रतीतिः प्रमाणमिति चेत्, न; नीलबुद्ध्यसिद्धेः । उक्तं नाथेनापि—अप्रतीतावपि प्रतीतिभ्रमो मन्दानाम्—इति । यत्तु तेनैवोक्तम् 'कथं तर्हि पदप्रयोगः ?' इति चेत्, सिताभावे उपचारात्, 'असितं नीलम् इति हि लौकिकः प्रयोगः' इति । तदेतदनुवादपूर्वकं दूषयति—न चायमित्यादि ।

(See न. प्र. p. 29.)

The word 'Nātha' may refer to either Śālikanātha or Bhavanātha. Whereas Pratyakṣvarūpa refers to both Śālikanātha and Bhavanātha, it may seem uncertain whether this Nātha is to be understood as referring to Śālikanātha or Bhavanātha.

In all the places<sup>1</sup> where Pratyakṣvarūpa refers to Bhavanātha, Bhavanātha is either mentioned fully by his name or mentioned as Nayavivekakāra, in terms of his work. But while referring to Śālikanātha, frequently the word 'Nātha' occurs, so that it does not altogether seem improbable to suppose that unprefixed Nātha as used by Pratyakṣvarūpa invariably denoted only Śālikanātha. Further when Nātha is cited as an authority, there is every reason to suppose this word to refer to the mūla-pramāṇakāra, instead of Bhavanātha, who came after Śālikanātha and who followed Śālika's views.<sup>2</sup> This supposition of mine is fully confirmed when I found out from Śālikanātha's *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā* a portion of the text of which the above reference—uktam Nāthenāpi 'apratitau api pratīti-bhramo mandānām'—can justly claim to be a pratīka. To make the point transparently clear I shall give below the relevant portion of the *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā*:—

1. See न. प्र. pp. 86, 88, 97-99, 102.

2. See *Nayaviveka*, Introductory verse 3, where he refers to Śālikanātha.

महता प्रणिधानेन शक्यमेव विचिन्तयन् ।

लोकानुमतमित्येव शास्त्रिकोक्तं प्रसाध्यते ॥

यः पुनर्निशि नीलिमेवावलोक्यते, नासौ नभसः । कस्य तर्हि ? न कस्यचित् । कथं पुनर्गुणो न कस्यचित् ? सत्यम् । गुण एवायमप्रसिद्धः । ननु प्रतीतिबलेन सिद्ध एव । सिध्येत् यदि प्रसिद्धिरेव सिध्यत् । सा तु कारणामावाप्तं सिद्धा । ननु चक्षुरेव कारणम् । न ; आलोकोपकारानपेक्षस्य चक्षुषः अप्रकाशकत्वात् । तेन अप्रतीतावेव अयं प्रतीतिभ्रमो मन्दानाम् । अत एव दिवा अनुपलम्भः ।

(*Prakaraṇapañcikā*, Tattvālokaprakaraṇa, p. 143 of Ch. S. Series.)

Thus it can be fairly assumed that Mānamanoharakāra flourished after Śālikanātha.

Now the question is what is the date of Śālikanātha? There are differences of opinion on this subject. Tradition tells us that Śālikanātha was a disciple of Prabhākara. M.M. Gopināth Kavirāj interprets the words—*gauḍa mīmāṃsaka*—found in *Kusumāñjali* to be referring to Śālikanātha, on the authority of Varadarāja (See *Kusumāñjalibodhanī*, Princess of Wales Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts No. 4. Intro. pp. vii-ix). So far it is correct. But how he proceeds to make Śālikanātha Udayana's contemporary does not seem to be sound. He elsewhere<sup>1</sup> says 'it is therefore probable that Śālika belonged to the middle of the 10th century'. This conclusion seems to be not very sound. From Udayana's reference to Śālika, what best can be concluded is that Śālikanātha flourished before Udayana, that is all. How can it make Śālika Udayana's contemporary?

One thing is certain, that Śālika came after Maṇḍana. This is evidenced by Śālikanātha's quotation of some of the extracts from Maṇḍana's works. (See Appendix V to the Edition of *Brahmasiddhi*.) A very pointed reference is to be found in Śālika's quoting a verse of the *Brahmasiddhi*, labdharūpe etc., and criticising it.

The words that Śālikanātha uses while refuting Maṇḍana's views—*tatra anyah paṇḍitam-manyo manyate*—(p. 28 of the *Prakaraṇapañcikā*, Ch. Edn.); *advaitābhimānī tu bhavān ātyantikam eva niṣedham abhilaṣyati. so'yam ātmīya eva bāṇo bhavan-tam praharati. labdharūpe kvacid kiñcid* (p. 155 of *Prakaraṇa-*

1. Des. Cat. of Skt. Mss. in the Govt. Sarasvatī Bhavan Library, Benares, Vol. I. *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*, Introduction p. iii,

*pañcīkā*) etc., would be sufficient to make us infer that Śālikanātha was not far removed from Maṇḍana. M.M. Kuppuswami Sastriar in his Introduction to *Brahmasiddhi* (p. lviii) places Śālikanātha between 650-730 A.D. For Mānamanoharakāra to cite Śālikanātha as an authority, would possibly imply that by that time Śālika was accepted as an authority. It would be reasonable to assume a period of about 50 years for this, and thus the superior limit to Mānamanoharakāra's date would be somewhere about 780 A.D.

As previously said, the inferior limit is before Ānandānubhava (1100 A.D.). Thus the author of the *Mānamanohara* can fairly be placed between 780-1100 A.D. To push these limits closer will be risky at the present stage of our information. He may be later than Udayana. But as no definite data to this are available, nothing certain can be said about it.

Thus much regarding the date of Mānamanoharakāra. Now I shall proceed to set forth some of the views ascribed to him and as found in later works.

In connection with the discussion of the nature of anubhūti (experience) Citsukha introduces different views held by various schools of thought and refutes them one by one finally establishing the superiority of the Advaitic standpoint. For the advaitins, anubhūti is svataḥ-siddha, self-established. The Naiyāyikas hold that if anubhūti be held as self-established, so far as experience is concerned, it will cease to be a vastu, padārtha, entity or object, because it is no more a vedya (knowable). For, with them knowability is the test of predicability. In answer to this it need be said that vedyatva (knowability) does not prove objectivity, for the simple reason that objectness and knowability are not invariably connected. Further it is not knowability that establishes vastutva, but sphuraṇa or prakāśamānatva.

Here the author of the *Nayanaprasādinī* refers to an anumāna put forth by the author of the *Mānamanohara* as follows:

एतेन एतदप्यपास्तम्, यदाह मानमनोहरकारः 'ज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षवेद्यम्,  
वस्तुत्वात्, घटवत्' इति ।

(न. प्र. p. 18)

From this we have to suppose that Vāgiśvara, like the Naiyāyikas, also held parataḥ prāmāṇya of knowledge and sup-

posed the validity of a cognition to be known by perception even as a jar is experienced.

*Nayanaprasādīnī* p. 21 gives another view held by the author of the *Mānamanohara*:—

तथा हि मानमनोहरकारेण वादिवागीश्वरेण आत्मप्रकरणे—विवादा-  
ध्यासितं बोधाधारजन्यम्, कार्यत्वात्, चेष्टादिवत्—इत्यनुमानं व्यर्थविशेषणे-  
नापि शरीरिजन्यत्वव्यतिरेकेण 'विवादाध्यासितं बोधाधारजन्यं न भवति,  
शरीर्यजन्यत्वात्' इति सत्प्रतिपक्ष्यते स्म ।

*Citsukhī* p. 22 has the following reference to *Mānamano-*  
*harakāra*:—

‘न हि द्रष्टुः दृष्टेः विपरिलोपो विद्यते’ इति द्रष्टृदृश्ययोः सम्बन्धः  
श्रुति एवाधिगत इति मानमनोहरकारः प्रातिष्ठिपत् इति चेत्, मैवम् ।

This is what *Citsukha* says about the *svaprakāśatva* (self-luminosity) of *ātman*, summarising his arguments in a verse:—

चिद्रूपत्वादकर्मत्वात् स्वयंज्योतिरिति श्रुतेः ।

आत्मनः स्वप्रकाशत्वं को निवारयितुं क्षमः ॥

*Citsukha* raises the objection put forth by *Vāgīśvara* regarding the self-luminosity of *ātman*. The objection arises thus: Where does *jñāna* reside? Evidently the answer will be in *ātman*. If so, *ātman* and consciousness are related as qualification and the qualified and *ātman* will no more be *sarvajña*, or of the nature of intelligence. *Mānamanohara* anticipates a difficulty here by way of a counter-objection. *Jñāna* does not reside in *ātman*, but it has its locus in *jñāna* alone, just as existence. The possibility of this counter-objection is set aside soon. There is a school of thought which holds *jñāna* not as an-attribute of *ātman*, but *ātman* itself. With respect to them no relation between *jñāna* and *ātman* can be said to exist, for they are one and the same. Thus the *āśraya* for *jñāna* is *asiddha* and the doubt which has for its basis *ātman* as the substrate of consciousness does not at all arise.

The author of the *Mānamanohara* is credited with another objection. He says that *Śruti* itself gives the relation between *draṣṭā* and *drṣṭi* and thus how can *āśrayāsiddhi* for *jñāna* be held?

This objection also falls to the ground, if the *Śruti* referred to by him be correctly interpreted. The text of the *Śruti*—

न हि द्रष्टुः दृष्टेः विपरिलोपो विद्यते, (Brh. IV—3-23.)

does not speak of any relation between consciousness and ātman. On the other hand, it simply says that *dr̥ṣṭi*, vision or knowledge is *avināśī*, without destruction. For this it takes up the relation between ātman and *jñāna*, that is all. But the real purport of the Śruti text here is not to establish the relation between ātman and knowledge as wrongly supposed by Vāgīśvara. If the Śruti be held to convey that sense, then *advaita* will disappear. Then how to explain the relation between ātman and *jñāna*? The relation is not real. It is only a secondary one as in the case of *rāhoś śīraḥ*. Though Rāhu has got only the head and no body, *i.e.*, the head is not in any way different from Rāhu, still there is the common usage as the head of Rāhu. In a similar way, when we say that ātman is the seat of *jñāna*, no real *adhikaraṇatva* in ātman is meant. The *adhikaraṇatva* is only a secondary one.

Further, if the difference between Īśvara and *jīva* be accepted, who is to be held as related to *dr̥ṣṭi*? It cannot be *jīva* for want of *nitya-jñāna*. The author of the *Mānamanohara* said that this śruti relates *nitya-jñāna* with Īśvara. This explanation of the text is not satisfactory. For when the whole text is properly understood in its context, the śruti emphasises the eternality of *jñāna* and does not speak anything about its relation to Īśvara. Thus the original syllogism—*jñānātmanoh sambandhaḥ anātmaniṣṭhaḥ*—remains still as *āśrayāsiddha*. This is indicated when in *Nayanaprasādini* we read

तेनात्र ईश्वरज्ञानस्य कारणरहितायाम् इमां श्रुतिं प्रमाणयन् वादि-  
वागीश्वरोऽप्युपहसितः ।

(p. 23.)

*Citsukhī* p. 24. न च अधिकरणपरतया ज्ञानशब्दो योज्यः,  
अद्वैतश्रुतिविरोधात् ।

The commentary on this runs:—

यत्तु मानमनोहरकृता उक्तम् 'ज्ञानशब्दश्च ज्ञायते अस्मिन् इति  
अधिकरणवचनः' इति, तद्दूषयति, न चेति ।

Pāṇini has the sūtra, *करणाधिकरणयोश्च* (III. 3. 117). This means that '*lyuṭ*' functions both when an instrument 'or locus is implied. Thus the word *jñāna* can be interpreted either as *ज्ञायते अनेन* or *ज्ञायते अस्मिन्*. In places like *विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म, प्रज्ञानं*

ब्रह्म, प्रज्ञानघन एव etc., which clearly speak of the identity of ātman with *jñāna*, the author of the *Mānamanohara* held ātman as the seat of knowledge accepting the 'lyut' in the sense of *adhikaraṇa*. This view is incorrect, for it will contradict texts like *Tat tvam asi, Aham brahma asmi*, etc.

*Nay. pr. p.* 29. यदाह मानमनोहरः तमसि प्रमाणाभावमुपन्यस्य ।  
'नीलं तमः' इति प्रतीतिः प्रमाणमिति चेत्, न; नीलबुद्ध्यसिद्धेः । उक्तं  
नाथनापि (Sālikanātha)—अप्रतीतावपि प्रतीतिभ्रमो मन्दानाम्—इति ।

यत्तु तेनैवोक्तम्—कथं तर्हि पदप्रयोगः ? इति चेत्, सिताभावे  
उपचारात् ; 'असितं नीलमिति हि लौकिकः प्रयोगः'—इति । तदेतदनुवाद-  
पूर्वकं दूषयति—न चायं इत्यादि ।

The Vaiśeṣikas do not hold darkness as a positive concept. For them darkness does not convey any positive idea, but it means only absence of light. Citsukha refutes their arguments and wants to establish darkness as a separate entity. He substantiates his position in the following verse:

तमालश्यामलज्ञाने निर्बाधे जाप्रति स्फुटे ।

द्रव्यान्तरं तमः कस्मात् अकस्मादपलप्यते ॥

The author of the *Mānamanohara* also denied *tamas* a separate entity in accordance with his Vaiśeṣika bias. How to explain the experience of *nīlam tamaḥ*? He says that the colour-sense in darkness is a case of *bhrama* and cites Sālikanātha in support. The usage *nīlam tamaḥ* can be explained as a case of *upacāra*, or secondary significance.

Further if at all *tamas* is to be accepted as a separate *padārtha*, it should be the object (*viśaya*) of a cognition. That is not the case. For an object consists of parts, which are themselves different from the whole. This is his (*Mānamanohara-kāra*'s) definition of *viśayatva*.

उक्तं च मानमनोहरकारेण—शरीरेन्द्रियव्यतिरिक्तः अवयवी हि  
विषयः—इति (See न. प्र. p. 30.)

This argument, according to the advaitins, is not valid. For with them, *tamas* is not begun by the small particles of darkness, as the Vaiśeṣikas would have it. But *tamas* is suddenly brought in operation or springs up suddenly from *Mūlāvidyā*, even as



lightning from the clouds. Thus the definition of *viśayatva* so far as darkness is concerned, does not hold good, and consequently Mānamanohara's objection to the *viśayatva* (objectivity) of darkness is unsound.

*Nay. pr.* 32. भट्टनये कालादीनामपि तथात्वात् (पदार्थत्वात्) यथाह मानमनोहरकारः—विवक्षिता साधनं च—इति ।

This makes it possible for us to infer that, like Bhāṭṭas, Vāgīśvara also accepted time (*kāla*) as a *padārtha* (separate entity).

*Nay. pr.* 51. ननु एकराब्दो न सजातीयनिषेधपरः ; अपि तु एकत्वसंख्याभिधानपरः । यथाह मानमनोहरकारः—एकत्वसंख्यामाचष्टे, तत्रैव लोके व्युत्पत्तः, लोकराक्तेष्वे वेदे बोधकत्वात्—इति ।

यत्तु तेनैवोक्तम्—आनन्त्यं पुनरुभयान्ताभाव एव, तत्रैव लोके व्युत्पत्तेः—इति, तदप्यनूय दूषयति—आनन्त्यमपि इति ।

While discussing the appearance or phenomenal nature of the cosmos, Citsukha quotes the scripture—*ekam eva advitīyam*—as a *pramāṇa*, proof of it. Here the author of the *Mānamanohara* is referred to as holding a different opinion with regard to the interpretation of the word '*eka*' found in the *śruti*. While others opine that the word '*eka*' occurring by the side of '*advitīya*' negatives duality of a similar type (सजातीयद्वित्वनिषेधपरः), Mānamanoharakāra is not prepared to accept it. He says that the word '*eka*' here speaks of the singular number, because in common usage in the world the word '*eka*' conveys only the idea of singularity. And what ordinary experience comprehends has its significance in scriptures too.

This view does not sound well. For in cases where no number comes to operate, we have usages like *ekam rūpam*, *ekā saṃkhyā*, *eko'bhāvaḥ*, etc.

The word '*ananta*' has been interpreted by Mānamanoharakāra as negating the two ends (limits). This is also not good. For in the usage—*nityam ākāśam anantam*—if the word '*ananta*' is to set aside the prior and subsequent limits, temporal and spacial units of existence with respect to *ākāśa*, it does not speak anything different from the significance of the word '*nitya*'. This means a redundancy of the words, *nitya* and *ananta*.

*Nay. pr. 76.* इमामर्थापत्तिं मानमनोहरकारोक्तान्यथानुपपत्त्या दूषयति—न देशान्तरेत्यादिना ।

In the discussion of *anirvacanīyatva*, Citsukha starts with a refutation of all possible definitions of it. As a matter of fact, *anirvacanīyatva* is not to be understood as unpredicability by all means, but as Ānandagiri points out, it is the want of logical exactitude in all the possible definitions of *anirvacanīyatva*, put forth by others.

येन येन प्रकारेण परो निर्वक्तुमिच्छति ।

तेन तेनात्मनायोगः तदनिर्वाच्यता मता ॥

(*Tarkasaṅgraha*, G. O. S. p. 136.)

After setting aside all definitions of *anirvacanīyatva* put forth by various thinkers, Citsukha strikes at the very *pramāṇa* of *mīlhyātva*. First in giving the *prima facie* view he says that *anirvacanīyatva* is indefinable. Secondly he says that it is not logical. Thus *anirvacanīya-padārtha* cannot be established for want of definition as well as proof. For the *nyāya* goes 'लक्षणप्रमाणान्यां हि वस्तुसिद्धिः'.

Citsukha here introduces *arthāpatti* (presumption) as a proof of *anirvacanīyatva* as follows:—

असतो नरशृङ्गादेः अख्यानात्, सतश्च चिदात्मनो बाधाभावात्,  
उभयस्य च इह दर्शनात् ।

This is a verbatim reproduction in prose of what the *Iṣṭasiddhi* contains:—

असतः ख्यात्ययोगात् सत् बाधायोगादसत् सतः ।

अतोऽनिर्वचनीयं तदिति पक्षेऽयुक्तयः ॥

(*Iṣṭasiddhi*, p. 39.)

The author of the *Mānamano-hara* is referred to as finding objection to this sort of presumption. He contends as follows. In places like *Sukli-rajata*, 'asat' may not exist *here*, but it can safely reside elsewhere; for in the particular place as specified by *atra* there is no *khyāti* or *bhāna* of *asat*. *Bādha* (sublation) is possible, not in the particular form derived by the advaitins, but in a different manner. Further, what is said—असतो मानम् अनुपपन्नम्—is unreasonable. Because, when we use the word *asat*, some idea is conveyed by it. Otherwise the word will have

to be deprived of its capacity to convey the idea, which naturally leads to the denial of any sense to any word or sentence.

Further what is *sat* ? Is it that which has *sattā*, or is it *abādhyā*, or does it mean *brahmasvarūpa*? Obviously the first alternative cannot be held. For in the advaitin's line of thought, this universe is accepted to have *sattā* and the same is said to be *bādhyā* too. This according to the realistic Mānamanoharakāra is a contradictory statement. For as he points out, if it be held that what is (exists) cannot be sublated, the cosmos or प्रपञ्च, in so far as it has been given *sattā*, could not be denied existence. This would mean that *prapañca* could not be sublated at a later moment. Thus the invariable concomitance between *sat* and *abādhyā* falls to the ground.

Nor does the second alternative hold good. That is, *sat* cannot be said to mean *abādhyā*. If so, the word *abādhyā* will be a synonym for *sat*, in which case, instead of saying यत् सत्, तदबाध्यम्, it can very well be said यदबाध्यं तदबाध्यम्. This makes no difference between the establisher and what is sought to be established.

The third alternative, *sat* is *brahmasvarūpa*, also is faulty; for it is *siddhasādhana*. By this Vāgīśvara means to say that the realists also do accept *sattā* (reality or existence) to Brahman, and what the advaitin seeks to establish by saying *sat* is *brahmasvarūpa*, is already known to them. Thus the advaitin's argument loses its value, since it does not establish any new fact, previously unknown to the realists. That is to say, the contention *sat* is *brahmasvarūpa*, becomes invalidated, in so far as it does not satisfy the conditions of a *pramāṇa* (अज्ञातार्थज्ञापक).

*Arthāpatiti* generally has got three defects. They are, अन्यथैवोपपत्ति, अन्यथाप्युपपत्ति and अनुदय. Having illustrated *anyathāwopapatti* and *anudaya* above, Mānamanoharakāra puts forth his reasons in favour of *anyathāpyupapatti*.

सद्विलक्षणत्वे नृशृङ्गवत् कृत्यात्यनुपपत्तेः, असद्विलक्षणत्वे च आत्मवत् बाधयोगात्, उभयविलक्षणस्य उभयानुपपत्तेः इति ।

That is to say,

सद्विलक्षण्ये असद्विलक्षण्ये उभयवैलक्षण्ये च अनुपपद्यमानाभ्यां कृत्याति-  
बाधाभ्यां सदसदात्मकत्वमेव रजतादेः सिद्धयति इत्यर्थः ।

(See n. प्र. p. 76.)

That is, the author of the *Mānamānohara* holds nacre-silver as *sad-asat* and not as *anirvacanīya*.

To answer these objections put forth by Mānamānoharakāra, we need not go very far. The line of argument adopted by Vāgīśvara clearly brings forth his realistic bent of mind. He fails to reconcile himself to the different degrees of *sattā* accepted by the advaitins. This is entirely due to his ultra-realistic attitude. Thus in the final stage of Brahman-realisation, though the *prapañca* previously had an empirical existence and value, valid for all practical worldly purposes, it can have no real *sattā* (पारमार्थिकसत्ता) which is on a par with the *sattā* of Brahman. When the advaitins say that Brahman alone is *paramārthasat*, they should not be understood as totally denying existence for all others except Brahman. The *sattā* that they deny to others is only the *paramārthikasattā*. As a matter of fact, in cases like nacre-silver, which are clear examples of *bhrama* (illusory cognition) a true advaitin does not feel reluctant to assign *sattā* to the nacre-silver also. But this *sattā* is only *prātibhāsika*. That is, the nacre-silver will appear to have existence, only so far as the *prātibhāsa* (appearance) of nacre-silver continues to last. The moment the *bādhakajñāna* (sublating cognition) comes, everything regarding the appearance and reality of nacre-silver vanishes and one feels convinced that what appeared before as silver was only a piece of shell and the whole appearance was a delusion. Even as this, when *Brahma-jñāna* sets in, one realises that what appeared as *prapañca* and as real for all the practical occupation of worldly life, was only *vyāvahārika* (empirical) and the one eternal entity is Ātman and Ātman alone.

Again, in answer to the arguments put forth by Mānamānoharakāra in favour of the *sad-asat-ālmakatva* of nacre-silver, this much can be said. If सद्वैलक्षण्य is प्रयोजक to स्थाय्यनुपपत्ति, it will result always in what is called *gaurava*. *Vailakṣaṇya*, dissimilarity or difference posits necessarily a counter-correlate (*pratiyogin*), and *sadvailakṣaṇa* also implies many such ones. In a similar manner as *asadvailakṣaṇa* also posits more than one counter-correlate. So much so, for the sake of ease in understanding things (economy of effort, *lāghava*) *sat* and *asat* alone should be held as *prayojukas* with respect to *bādhānupapatti* and *bhānānupapatti* respectively.

The author of the *Mānamanohara* seems to have not lost sight of this fact. And he said:

असतोऽपि तदादात् (i. e. असत्पदात्) प्रतिभानेन, सतोऽपि प्रपञ्चस्य बाध्यत्वदर्शनेन उक्तांतरत्वात् ।

This evidently indicates his repeating his *अन्यथोपपत्ति* in answer to this counter-objection. Finally *Mānamanohara-kāra* concludes that the particular postulation (*arthāpatti*) put forth with a view to prove *anirvacanīyatva*—

असतो नरश्चृङ्गादेः अख्यानात् etc.—

fails to establish *mithyātva*.

A refutation of all the points of *Vāgīśvara* would necessitate an elaborate and lengthy discussion of the topic of *anirvacanīyatva*, for which this is no place or occasion. I shall try to deal with it in a separate paper.

*Nay. Pr. p.* 169. Another important place where the author of the *Mānamanohara* comes in is in connection with the discussion of *bheda*. The second chapter of *Citsukhī* opens with an inquiry into the nature of *bheda*. Giving some *prima facie* views, *Citsukha* sets forth his arguments thus:

सापेक्षत्वात् सावधेश्च तत्त्वेऽद्वैतप्रसङ्गतः ।

एकाभावादसन्देहान्न रूपं वस्तुनो भिदा ॥

That is, difference (*bheda*) is not the form of the differed (न तावत् स्वरूपं भेदः). Arguing this point at some length, he takes up the question, how to experience *bheda*?

तस्मात् न स्वरूपभेदे प्रत्यक्षं प्रमाणम् । तथा धर्मभेदेऽपि—

युगपद्रूढणायोगात् अनवस्थाप्रसङ्गतः ।

परस्पराश्रयत्वाच्च धर्मभेदेऽपि नाक्षर्याः ॥

Perception is not the means of comprehending *bheda*.

In places like *surabhi candanam*, fragrance is a quality which can be experienced by the nose alone, and *candana*, sandalwood is to be cognised by the eyes. This means that sandalwood and fragrance are not comprehensible by one and the same sense. In this case how to explain the experience of fragrant sandalwood? The answer is: Both are separately cognised and subsequently there is the experience of fragrant

sandalwood, resulting out of the experience of one cognition being qualified and the other being qualifier; that is to say, in the final state of knowledge, that the sandalwood is fragrant, the exact nature of the *prālīti* (cognition) is *viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya-bhāva-prālīti*. It is the cognition of a qualified experience (*viśiṣṭa-jñāna*).

Similarly, in the case of *bheda* also, there are two separate notions, *dharmin* and its *pratiyogin*, and what is really conveyed by *bheda* is the *viśiṣṭa-prālīti* (qualified experience) of the *dharmin* and its counter-correlate. Both the *dharmin* and its *pratiyogin* cannot be simultaneously cognised. That is to say, difference is not a unitary cognition.

It cannot also be said that there is difference between *bheda* and *bhedin*. For this leads to *anavasthā*. The difference between *bheda* and *bhedin* would also stand in need of another difference to establish it; this difference in its turn will require another difference, and so on endlessly. It does not also benefit us to say that this *anavasthā* is not a fault, when a series of such *bhedas* is postulated. For the very concept of *bheda* takes the form—

इदमतो भिन्नम् , or अनयोर्भेदः.

(A is different from B, or difference is between A and B.) This implies two concepts and hence the resulting cognition of *bheda* is a qualified cognition. Thus the second *bheda* stands related to the first, the third to the second and so on. And no two *bhedas* are brought together to be experienced simultaneously. This results in not knowing *bheda* at all. That is, by accepting difference between *bheda* and *bhedin*, what is sought to be established (*bheda*) is not proved. In other words, the acceptance of *bheda* between a *bheda* and its *bhedin* to establish the concept of difference logically, cuts at the very root of the argument.

Here the author of the *Mānamanohara* is introduced holding his own view as follows:

अत्र मानमनोहरकारो नृत्यति स्म—न च भेदानवस्था बाधिका, भेदान्तरप्रसक्तौ मूढभावात्, भेदभेदिनौ भिन्नौ इति व्यवहारदर्शनात् । न च एकभेदबलेन अन्यभेदानुमानम्, दृष्टान्तभेदाविघातेन उत्थाने दोषाभावात् । सोऽयं पिण्याक्याचनार्थं गतस्य पाचिनः खारिकानैलदातृत्वाम्युपगम इव दृष्टान्तभेदविमर्दे तु अनुत्थानमेव, उज्जीव्यस्य प्रबलत्वेन बाधात्,

स्वात्मव्याघातकत्वेन जात्युत्तरत्वात् च । एनेन दृश्यत्वादयो निरस्ताः । न च अनिर्वचनीयत्वं भेदस्य, तत्र प्रमाणाभावात्—इति गायनः ।

(न. प्र. p. 169.)

Ānandagiri also in his commentary on Ānandīnubhava's *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*, refers to this point; but he does not mention the author either by his name or in terms of his work.

यत्तु—भेदानवस्था न बाधिका, भेदान्तरप्रसक्तौ मानाभावात्—इति, तदसत् । भेदोऽपि विशेषणाभावेन भानि । न स भेदमन्तरेण एकत्रादृष्टः; सोऽपि तथैवेति भेदान्तरप्रसक्तौ तत्प्रतीतिरेव मूलम् ।

(See p. 190 of Madras Ms. of Ānandagiri's *Tarkaviveka* R. 4342.)

The *anavasthā* pointed out above, does not in any way endanger the concept of *bheda*; for there is no *pramāṇa* to hold a second *bheda*. Further, everybody is well aware of the common experience and usage that *bheda* and *bhedān* are different and are not one. Nor can a second *bheda* be inferred on the authority of one *bheda*. Thus if difference between *bheda* and *bhedān* is sought to be refuted on the ground of *anavasthā* it is not possible. For the *anavasthā* springs up only later. The first *bheda* is more powerful than the second, for it happens to be the *upajīvyā*. Thus *anavasthāpādāna* with regard to *bheda* is not reasonable. *Bheda* cannot also be said to be *anirvacanīya*, for lack of sound reasons. This is the position of Mānamanoharakāra.

The argument of Mānamanoharakāra does not hold any water. As has been said above, the *bhedānavasthā* cannot be successfully got over by him. Further, his contention that because there are no proofs for *anirvacanīyatva* difference cannot be held as *anirvacanīya*, also has no claim to soundness, for *anirvacanīyatva* can be successfully maintained on strictly logical basis. I do not propose to enter into this topic now, because it is very wide and can claim a separate treatment.

Still another view is that *bheda* is that which has separateness (*prthaktva*) for its quality. This is known as the *prthaktva-pakṣa*. This view too is unsound. For *prthaktva* is a quality and *bheda* is another quality. One *guṇa* cannot be the seat of another *guṇa*. Colour (*rūpa*) cannot be the substrate of smell (*gandha*). Thus difference (*bheda*) itself being a *guṇa*, *dharma*,

it can never be the substrate (*āśraya*) for another dharma, viz., *prthaktva*.

*Nay. pr.* 173. अत्र मानमनोहरस्यमनुमानं शङ्कते 'अयाकाशः' इति ।

Mānamanoharakāra seems to have said thus. Accepting the *ārambhavāda* of the Vaiśeṣikas, he said that even as *ākāśa* is the seat of a dharma, viz., *ekatva*, why not *prthaktva* be seated in difference? In answer to this the advaitin has to say only so much. The origin of a *kārya* (effect) by the operation of causes, *samavāyī*, *asamavāyī* and *nimitta*, is accepted only by the *ārambhavādins*. For those who accept Ātman alone as real and all others including *ākāśa* to be only the transformations of *avidyā* (nescience), this sort of explanation is useless.

*Nay. pr.* 181.

एतेन—केवलनिमित्तकारणे वर्तमानापरजातीयत्वं वा समवाय्यसमवायि-  
कारणरहिते वर्तमानापरजातीयत्वं वा—इति मानमनोहरोक्तलक्षणमपि परिभूतं  
मन्तव्यम् ।

What has been said in the previous paragraph naturally leads to the concept of *guṇa* (quality). What is the definition of *guṇa*? The author of the *Nyāyakandalī* (Śrīdhara) defined it as

सामान्यवानगुणः संयोगविभागयोः निरपेक्षः न कारणं गुणः ।

This is a faulty definition. For it involves reciprocal dependence. The word *agūṇa* used in defining *guṇa* can have its significance only after the concept of *guṇa* is known. And according to the above definition of *guṇa*, *guṇa* has to be defined in terms of *agūṇa*. That is to say, *guṇa* can be known only in the light of *agūṇa*. This is what is known as mutual dependence.

The author of the *Nyāyalīlāvatī* (i.e. Vallabha) gives the following definition of *guṇa*:—

सामान्यवान् अचलनात्मकः समवायिकारणताहीनो गुणः ।

The *samavāyikāraṇa* according to the Naiyāyikas is कार्ये यत्र समवैति तत् समवायिकारणम्. If this definition of *samavāyikāraṇatva* be accepted, *rūpa* (colour) also will have *samavāyikāraṇatva*. So much so when *guṇa* (quality) is defined as that which is devoid of *samavāyikāraṇatva*, colour will lose its claims towards being a quality. This is against *siddhānta*. Thus the definition of *guṇa* given by Vallabha also does not hold good.



In a similar manner the author of *Mānamanohara* defines *guṇa* as

केवलनिमित्तकारणे वर्तमानापरजातीयत्वं or समवाय्यसमवायिकारणता-  
रहिते वर्तमानापरजातीयत्वम् (गुणत्वम्).

This definition also is faulty, for the same reason as in the case of Vallabha's definition.

*Nay. Pr. p. 192.*

एतेन नित्यत्वे सत्यनेकसमवेतम् (सामान्यम्) इति मानमनोहरकारोक्त-  
लक्षणमपि निरस्तम् ।

This definition of generality is in keeping with the Vaiśeṣika doctrine. Compare with this the definition of *Sāmānya* found in *Praśastapādabhāṣya*:—

सामान्यादीनां त्रयाणां स्वात्मसत्त्वं बुद्धिलक्षणत्वम् अकार्यत्वमकारणत्वम्  
असामान्यविशेषत्वं नित्यत्वम् अर्थशब्दानभिधेयत्वं च ।

Citsukha refutes the definition of *Sāmānya* as found in the *Mānamanohara*, summarising his arguments as follows:—

जातेरद्याप्यसिद्धेश्च सत्तादेरप्यसिद्धितः ।

तदनाश्रयतान्यत्वलक्षणेऽन्योन्यसंश्रयः ॥

For the advaitins, Ātman alone is *nitya* and so *nityatva* is *asiddha*. *Anekasamavetatva* also is *asiddha* for two reasons. First of all there is no reality except ātman. Secondly *samavāya* is not accepted by the advaitins. Thus the definition

नित्यत्वे सति अनेकसमवेतं सामान्यम्  
is *asiddha* for the advaitins.

*Nay. Pr. p. 198.*

मानमनोहरीयमनुमानं शङ्कते—आकाशमिति ।

This is in connection with the topic of particularity (*viśeṣa*). The actual *anumāna* is found in *Citsukhī*:—

आकाशं गुणसामान्यव्यतिरिक्तसमवायि द्रव्यत्वात्, घटवत्, इति मान-  
मनोहरोक्तमनुमानान्तरम् अस्ति इति चेत्, मैवम् ।

The point of the criticism is the non-acceptance of *samavāya*.

This eventually leads to the consideration of *samavāya*. Inherence according to the Naiyāyikas has been defined as *nityaḥ sambandhaḥ* or eternal relation. An advaitin could not accept this definition for obvious reasons. For them (advaitins) every-

thing except ātman is unreal, and how can they subscribe to the view which accepts *samavāya* as a permanent relation?

Some Naiyāyikas, in order to establish *samavāya*, put forth an *anumāna*, somewhat as follows:—

प्रमाणसिद्धत्वात् आकाशमात्मना संयुज्यते, संयोगित्वात्, षट्पत् ।

By this syllogism they desired to prove that some relation exists between ātman and *ākāśa*. *Ākāśa* being real (स चैको विमु नित्यं च) the nature of the relation between it and ātman should be real. That is, the relation between *ākāśa* and ātman is real, and is called *samavāya*.

The author of the *Mānamanohara* had some objection to this *anumāna*. His contention was this. A counter syllogism (*pratyanumāna*) to the above can be easily put up.

तत्र क्रियावत्त्वस्य मूर्तत्वस्य परत्वापरत्वयोर्वा उपाधेः, आत्मा आकाशेन न संयुज्यते, अमूर्तत्वात्, रूपादिवत्, इति ।

Citsukha points out that this is faulty. What *Mānamanohara-kāra* said is not true. *Kriyāvalva*, *mūrtatva* etc. are not the *upādhis* there. The real *upādhi* (qualifying adjunct) is *asamīyogitva*. Further in the usage—आकाशमात्मना संयुज्यते—what is sought to be stated is not the relation between ātman and *ākāśa* or *samavāya*, but that ātman is the substrate for *ākāśa*. Then how can *mūrtatva* etc. function as *upādhis*? That is to say, *samavāya* is not reasonable.

The Naiyāyikas point out in the above method, that the *anumāna* put forth by them is quite valid (*abādhita*). Hence *samavāya* has to be acceded to. Citsukha seeks to refute this point at some length and begins his refutation thus:—

किं चेदमबाधितत्वं सर्वानुमानेषु विवाक्षितम्, किं प्रत्यक्षेण अबाधितत्वम्, उत युक्त्या, किं वा व्यवहारे बाधराहित्यम् ?

In connection with the third alternative *Mānamanoharakāra* is introduced.

व्यवहारे बाधाभावोऽबाध्यत्वमिति तृतीयपक्षे व्यभिचारमाह 'नापि तृतीयः' इत्यादिना । एतेन विवादाध्यासितं नित्यसम्बन्धेन सम्बद्धम्, द्रव्यत्वात्, आकाशवत्, इति मानमनोहरोक्तमपि निरस्तम्, विशेषणविशेष्यभावेन अर्थान्तरत्वात् ।

(See न. प्र. p. 204.)

Mānamanoharakāra seems to have held something like this. *Samavāya* is related to *nitya-sambandha*, because it is a *padārtha* like *ākāśa*.

This opinion of Mānamanohara can be set aside easily. We need not hold that because *samavāya* also is a *padārtha* like *ākāśa*, it should be related to *nityasambandha*. It would be sufficient to say that *nitya-sambandha* qualifies *samavāya*. No invariable concomitance or *vyāpti* exists between *samavāya* and *nitya-sambandha* as between smoke and fire. They function only as *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya*, so that the definition — नित्यः सम्बन्धः समवायः—does not hold good.

मानमनोहरीयमनुमानम् अभावसिद्धौ उदाहरति 'ननु कथम्' इत्यादिना ।  
(न. प्र. p. 278.)

In setting forth some *prima facie* views about the concept of *abhāva* (non-existence) Citsukha finally says:—

तदेवमवधीरितभावाभावभूतलादेः उपलम्भादेव अभावव्यवहारसंभवे  
तदतिरिक्ताभावाम्युपगमो निष्प्रमाणक एव ।

Impatient on hearing something similar to this, Mānamanoharakāra is introduced as voicing forth his opinion in the following:—

ननु कथं निष्प्रमाणकता ? चक्षुः चाक्षुषभावातिरिक्तग्राहकम्, इन्द्रियत्वात्,  
ग्राणवत् । निर्घटं भूतलम् इति विज्ञानम् एतद्विज्ञानालम्बनभावमात्रातिरिक्तालम्ब-  
नम्, एतद्भावमात्रालम्बननिर्विकल्पकेतरज्ञानत्वात्, सघटं भूतलम् इति ज्ञानवत्,  
इति प्रमाणे जाग्रति ?

What is *saṃyoga*? Sarvadeva, author of *Pramāṇamañjarī* defines it as

गुणत्वावान्तरजात्या द्रव्यासमवायिकारणजातीयः संयोगः ।

Mānamanoharakāra defines it as either अनित्यः सम्बन्धः (in contrast to *samavāya*) or as

घटजनकतदवयवनिष्ठगुणत्वावान्तरजातीयः संयोगः ।

(न. प्र. p. 296.)

This also is refuted by Citsukha.

After *saṃyoga*, contact, arises the question of *vibhāga* (disjunction or separation.)

Mānamanohara would define *vibhāga* as

संयोगसमानाश्रयत्वे सति संयोगनाशको विभागः ।

(न. प्र. p. 297.)

There is a view among some thinkers that *vibhāga* is cognised by perception. As the mountains Himālayas and Vindhya are separated by a considerable space, one cannot hold that *vibhāga* in this and similar instances is *saṃyoga-nāśaka*; because no contact can be imagined between the two. But since there is the *pratīti* that Himavān and Vindhya are separate, this separateness or disjunction is cognised by perception.

The author of *Mānamanohara* objects to this view as follows. He says that in such cases there is no *pratīti* of separateness at all. The usage, Himālayas and Vindhya are separate, is explained by him, having recourse to a secondary sense.

मनोहरस्तु—तादृशस्थले प्रतीतिरेव नास्ति, शब्दप्रयोगस्तु गौणः—  
इत्याह । तदसत् ; एतादृशानुभवपरिहारपारिजातस्य प्रकृतेऽपि सुलभत्वात् ।  
(न. प्र. p. 298.)

एवं भाष्यकाराद्यभिमतमनुमानं दूषयित्वा मनोहरीयमनुमानं दूषयितु-  
मुद्भावयति—कर्मेति ।  
(न. प्र. p. 299.)

*Praśastapāda* held *vibhāga* also as giving rise to sound. (विभागः शब्दहेतुश्च.) This is illustrated by the sound produced when a piece of bamboo is split up. This contention of *Praśastapāda* is said to be wrong. The act of splitting alone fails to produce sound. Speed in the action also should be combined to give rise to the sound. In this context *karma* (action) has to be defined and *Mānamanohara*'s definition of activity is given below:

कर्म संयोगातिरिक्तसमवायिकारणम्, संयोगातिरिक्तत्वे सति असमवा-  
यिकारणत्वात्, रूपवत् ।

(See *Citsukhī*, p. 299.)

This is set aside by *Citsukha* at some length. He says:—

संयोगस्य निरस्तत्वात् गुणानामनिरूपणात् ।

जातेश्च दुर्निरूपत्वात् स्यादसंभवि लक्षणम् ॥

Regarding *parimāṇa* (measurement or magnitude) *Mānamanoharakāra* is said to hold the same view as *Śivāditya*.

शिवादित्यमनोहरयोः अभिमतलक्षणं दूषयति.

(न. प्र. pp. 309-10.)

Both of them held thus:—

मानव्यवहारकारणं परिमाणम्, or द्वित्वसमवायिकारणकवृत्तिगुणत्वा-  
वान्तरजातीयं परिमाणम् ।

Citsukha refutes this on the ground that *dvitva* is *asiddha* as also *dvilvasamavāyikāraṇa*. *Mānāmanohara* is credited with another *anumāna* here :

विवादाध्यासितं (परिमाणम्) द्विष्टगुणानसमवायिकारणानित्यविशेषगुण-  
व्यतिरिक्ताद्विष्टगुणाश्रयः, द्रव्यत्वात्, जलाणुवत् ।

Citsukha objects to this also as follows:—

आद्यस्योपाधिमत्त्वेन साध्याभावान्निदर्शने ।

द्वितीयस्योभयत्रापि प्रतिसाधनरोधनात् ॥

If *Mānāmanohara* would say that *sparsavattva*, *mūrtatva* are not *upādhis*, Citsukha will not leave him easily.

यदत्र तेनैव (मानमनोहरकारेणैव) उक्तं—न च स्पर्शवत्त्वमूर्तत्वे  
उपाधी, पवनपार्थिवपरमाणुव्यभिचारात्—इति, तद् दूषयति 'न च' इति

(See न. प्र. p. 311.)

In connection with the topic of activity *Mānāmanohara* is once more introduced in Citsukhī, with the following syllogism:—

एतेन मानमनोहरप्रयोगोऽप्यपास्तः—विवादाध्यासितं कार्यं विशेषगुण-  
रहितद्रव्याभ्यां जन्यते, कार्यत्वात्, अन्तःकरणद्वयसंयोगवत्—इति । तत्रापि  
दृष्टान्तस्य साध्यविकलत्वात् ।

(Citsukhī, p. 327).

Again in connection with the topic of salvation, *mukti*, emancipation from bondage, Citsukha is said to be referring to *Mānāmanoharakāra*.

न च कायव्यूहनिर्माणेन जीवन्मुक्तिदशायाम् अशेषसुखोपयोगाङ्गीकारात्  
समव्ययफलत्वदोषपरिहारः । विदेहवैवल्ये दुःखानुभववत् सुखानुभवस्याप्य-  
भावात् ।

(Citsukhī, p. 355.)

The commentator makes the reference clear :

एतेनैतदप्यपास्तं यदाह मानमनोहरकारः—योगर्हिमासादितचिरकालोप-  
भोग्यसुखविशेषपरत्वेऽप्युपपत्तेः—इति, तादृशसुखस्य मुक्तावभावात् ।

(न. प्र. p. 355.)

These are the references available in *Citsukhī* and its commentary, *Nayanaprasādinī*, to the author of the *Mānāmanohara*.

A few other references to him are found in Ānandānubhava's (1100 A.D.) works. I shall state them in the following. In discussing the nature of Īśvara, the author of the *Mānāmanohara*,

like the Vaiśeṣikas, seems to have held the view that the existence of Īśvara is to be inferred from the fact that he is the creator of all this *kārya-prapañca*. That is to say, the existence of Īśvara is established by inference. Just as a potter who makes a pot knows the pot and also the art of making it, so also Īśvara, the creator of this *prapañca* should be inferred to exist similar to the potter. This is the view of the Vaiśeṣikas.

To this Ānandānubhava objects as follows. The reason set forth by the author of the *Mānamanohara* is unsound for two reasons. First there is a *būdhakatarka* (counter-reason) to establish the contrary. Secondly the *hetu* is *atiprasakta*. Ānandānubhava is very vehement in condemning the author of *Mānamanohara* as can be seen from the very despicable phrases he uses in his *anumānu*.

यत्तु वामन(वाम?)मतानुसारिणा मानमनोहरेण प्रलपितम्—अयम् एतद्वटजनकानित्येतरज्ञानजननकार्यत्वात्, पटवत्—इति, तद्विपक्षे बाधक-तर्काभावात् अतिप्रसङ्गहतत्वात् च शङ्किताप्रयोजकम् । तथा हि—‘मानमनोहर-कर्तृशरीरं एतज्जनकागर्दभेतरजन्यम्, कार्यत्वात्, कुम्भवत्’ इत्यपि तेनानुमीयेत । विशिष्टं च साध्यं तस्य अप्रसिद्धम् । प्रपञ्चितं चैतत् न्यायरत्नदीपावल्याम् । अतो न विपञ्च्यते । तस्मात् न तटस्थेश्वरसिद्धिः मानतः संभवति ।

(See p. 81 of *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*, Madras Ms. R. 2981.)

Ānandānubhava says here that this point has been already exemplified by him in his *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī*. The reference in this work is as follows:—

(a) यदपि वाममार्गानुसारिणा मानमनोहरे प्रलपितम्

(p. 166 of *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī*, Madras Ms. R. 5505.)

(b) तथा हि—मानमनोहरकर्तृशरीरम् एतज्जनकाचण्डालेतरजनितम्, कार्यत्वात्, etc.

(*ibid.* p. 167.)

Ānandagiri wrote commentaries<sup>1</sup> on both *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī* and *Padārthatattvanirṇaya* of Ānandānubhava. From his commentary called *Tarkaviveka* on *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*, some

1. Mss. of both these works are available in the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library. See numbers R. 4459 and R. 4342. They are called *Vedāntaviveka* and *Tarkaviveka*, respectively.

details about the author of *Mānamanohara* can be culled. They are—

(a) विरुद्धकोटिसंस्पर्शशून्यो निश्चयोऽनवसाय इति मानमनोहरः (p. 93.)

(b) मासर्वज्ञः षोढा, पञ्चधा चोदयनः, मानमनोहरः चतुर्धा हेत्वा-  
भासभेदमवादीत् । (p. 104.)

This shows that *Mānamanohara* classified fallacies of reason as four-fold.

(c) .विमतो गुणो ज्ञानाद्यतिरिक्तासाधारणगुणजन्यः, कर्मकारण-  
गुणत्वात्, गुरुत्ववत् (इति ?) इच्छाद्वेषयोः सिद्धिं मानमनोहरकारो व्याजहार ।  
(p. 149.)

(d) यत्तु—विमतः संयोगो विशेषगुणरहितद्रव्याभ्यां जन्यते,  
संयोगत्वात्, अन्तःकरणद्वयसंयोगवत् । विमतम् उक्तसाध्यवत्, कार्यत्वात्,  
सम्मतवत् इत्यनुमानाभ्यां दिक्कालयोः सिद्धिः—इति मानमनोहरकारो व्याजहार,  
तदयुक्तम्, अन्तःकरणस्य विशेषगुणत्वात्, दृष्टान्तस्य साध्यविकलत्वात् ।

(e) Ānandagiri's reference to *Mānamanoharakāra* in connection with the *anavasthā* in *bheda* has been already indicated above. Here the author is not mentioned by his name or his work.

In his commentary on *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī*, Ānandagiri does not give any additional information about *Mānamanohara*.

These are the available references to the author of *Mānamanohara*. To make a critical and exhaustive study of all these points will lead to an examination of all the *nyāya-vaiśeṣika* tenets and also to their criticism from an advaitic stand-point. This is no place or occasion to enter into a detailed discussion of these topics. One clear fact is that these references to *Mānamanoharakāra* show that at some period (about 1000 A.D.), Vāgīśvara had been accepted as an authoritative exponent of the Vaiśeṣika system of thought. But unfortunately his claims to the authoritative position seem to be only short-lived. Because he was very severely criticised by Ānandānubhava, Citsukha and Pratyakṣvarūpa and after Vidyāranya (14th century A. D.) no reference to him is to be found in the writings of later authors.

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1. The word 'iti', though not found in the Ms. seems necessary in the context.

## OBITUARY

We have heard with great regret the passing away of Mr. P. V. Naganatha Sastri, Advocate, Tanjore. He was for many years a Member of the Editorial Committee of our Journal. In him, we had the rather uncommon combination of a professional lawyer and a scholar of wide culture and tastes. He was deeply read in English literature and in Sanskrit literature. Amidst the pre-occupations of a busy life as a lawyer, he found time to pursue his intense study of them. He specialised in Sanskrit rhetoric and in Sanskrit Grammar. He edited and published the *Bhāmaha Alaṅkāra* with an accurate translation and notes. We know that he was writing and had intended to publish an original Primer in Sanskrit Grammar. The Journal at its inception and also during the many years of its existence had profited greatly by his valuable advice and suggestions. He commanded a racy English style and was a vivacious and ready-witted conversationist. He was very simple and unassuming in his private life and had a pure and noble character. In his death, the world of scholars and cultured men has sustained a great loss. We beg to express to his sons and other members of his family our heart-felt sympathy in their sad bereavement.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE COCHIN SANSKRIT SERIES NO. 2, PRAVESAKA : BY ACYUTA PISHAROTI, WITH LAGHUVIVRTI : BY P. S. ANANTANARAYANA SASTRI, Sanskrit Pandit, Maharaja's College Ernakulam, Editor. P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri, Price Rs. 1-4-0.

This is an easy treatise of Sanskrit Grammar in verse written by a very learned Vyākaraṇa scholar Acyuta Pisharoti who was also well versed also in Nyāya and Jyotiṣa. It aims at giving a working knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar necessary for writing and speaking Sanskrit correctly. It is a work of the Prakaraṇa type. Such works are absolutely necessary for students of Sanskrit Grammar. The Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin must indeed be congratulated



on their having conceived and promoted the idea of the publication of the Cochin Sanskrit Series and for beginning that Series with two such works like those of the Vedānta Paribhāṣa-saṅgraha and the Praveśaka.

THE KAVINDRA CANDRODAYA. EDITED BY DR. HAR DUTT SARMA, M.A., PH.D. AND MR. M. M. PATKAR, B.A. Poona Oriental Series, 60. Oriental Book Agency, Poona 1939. Price not stated.

In the dark days of Hinduism when its capitals were at the mercy of Mohammedan rulers, there were great Paṇḍitas and Sannyāsins in the City of Benares who admirably assumed the leadership of their oppressed religion. Nṛsiṃhāśramin, celebrated in the Nṛsiṃhasarvasvakāvya is one of them and he was a contemporary of Akbar. A contemporary of Shah Jehan was the Dekhani Sannyāsin residing in Benares, Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī, who interviewed the Mogul King and got abolished the Jessia levied on the bathers and pilgrims at Kāśī and Prayāga. The grateful world of scholars presented the Sannyāsin with addresses in verse and prose, all of which the Sannyāsin's treasurer Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa collected in the form of the anthology the Kavindra Candrodāya. Mm. Haraprasad Sastri noticed the contents of this anthology in 1912 in the *Indian Antiquary*, XLI, and in 1928, in the IV Vol. of his *A. S. B. Catalogues*. Mr. R. A. Sastri then published in the G. O. S. the list of the large and valuable collection of Mss. which Kavindrācārya had collected in his library in Benares. Dr. Har Dutt Sarma then reviewed the contents of the anthology in *Mm. Kuṇḍavami Sastri Commemoration Volume*, in 1935. The last scholar has now, in association with M. M. Patkar of the B. O. R. I, Poona, offered us an edition of the Kavindra Candrodāya, incorporating all that has been known and said of the hero, Kavindra, in an Introduction. The Introduction identifies also some of the authors figuring in the addresses. The present reviewer has attempted in an article contributed to the *Bhandarkar Number of the Indian Culture*, to add to the information already known about Kavindrācārya, his life and achievements and the literary contributions he has left to us.

The editors have used three Mss. which have proved insufficient to eliminate the errors. Some more Mss. could have

been used. On p. 21, verse 159 in which a town named Prakāśa is described, letter by letter in a round-about way, the first line works some letters metrically; also the footnote reading here (No. 4) is correct and not the reading in the body of the text.

Apart from historians of literature who will be thankful to the editors and the publishers, Hindu society in general must feel thankful for the publication of a work revealing the personality of one of the little known heroes of Hinduism.

**V. RAGHAVAN.**



